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JACOPO CARUCCI DA PONTORMO

Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo
His Life and Work

by

Frederick Mortimer Clapp

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By

FREDERICK MORTIMER CLAPP

WITH A FOREWORD BY
FRANK JEWETT MATHER, Jr.



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The present volume is the fifth work published by the Yale University Press on the Henry Weldon Barnes Memorial Publication Fund. This Foundation was established June 16, 1913, by a gift made to Yale University by William Henry Barnes, Esq., of Philadelphia, in memory of his son, a member of the Class of 1882, Yale College, who died December 3, 1882. While a student at Yale, Henry Weldon Barnes was greatly interested in the study of literature and in the literary activities of the college of his day, contributing articles to some of the undergraduate papers and serving on the editorial board of the *Yale Record*. It had been his hope and expectation that he might in after-life devote himself to literary work. His untimely death prevented the realization of his hopes, but by the establishment of the Henry Weldon Barnes Memorial Publication Fund his name will nevertheless be forever associated with the cause of scholarship and letters which he planned to serve and which he loved so well.

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First published, October, 1916

TO
M. C. C.

"Si vede apertamente che quel cervello
andava sempre investigando"
—*Vasari*

FOREWORD

If Mr. Clapp's book, instead of appearing in the century of Picasso, had appeared in that of Pontormo, there would have been prefatory sonnets written by friends who believed in the artist and in the author. Believing in both myself, I offer a kind of substitute in plain prose, for the author, who is an accomplished poet and therefore well able to write his own complimentary verses, evades the task.

It is a significant fact that Mr. Clapp's first considerable publication on his favorite artist, "Les Dessins de Pontormo," was written in French and published in Paris. Nor is it betraying confidence to tell that the present book in its trial stages existed in a French version. The fact that Mr. Clapp has to this extent assimilated the French language is interesting, but it is far more important to note that he has equally assimilated certain solid merits and enlivening graces of French scholarship. I shudder when I think what a German or a Germanized American scholar would have made of the subject of Pontormo. In his solitary, experimental career, in the now elegiac, now tragic flavour of his personal poetry, there was every opportunity and temptation for indulgence in the irresponsible joys of sentimentalism. In the mere physical abundance of new data, there was every incentive to shoot it all into one of those imposing academic rubbish heaps which in mere bulk are more impressive than real books, as they are of more portentous effect upon the benevolent commonalty.

What is remarkable about Mr. Clapp's book is not that he has avoided deliberate gush and casual disorder — one trusted the fine man of letters in him for so much — but rather that he has lured and compelled into his long task positive qualities of orderliness, lucidity, and discipline. With a vast and easily confusing mass of material, he has been content to wait until

the place appeared where each fact not merely might but must be taken up into the fabric of the book. This means that, while the book is thickly set with data, the gentle reader will find an uncluttered fairway.

Notable too is the way in which narrative and comment have been knit into one structure. Criticism remains unpretentious and chiefly implicit. The close and logical order of the exposition builds up a kind of persuasive portrait, which is on the whole left to the reader's judgment. It is a satisfactory procedure, indicative of probity in the author, and complimentary withal to the reader's intelligence. Mr. Clapp not merely keeps a facile subjectivity out of his task of research, but so conducts the work that, even under that self-denying ordinance, it eventuates as a contribution to literature. While re-reading the proof sheets I have had a haunting image of one of those precise, complete, and austerely attractive portraits by Philippe de Champaigne, in which the conscience of the eye and hand constitute the style. Mr. Clapp is fortunate in being one of the first to naturalize in our scanty literature of art these sterling traits of the Gallic spirit.

Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.

PREFACE

When early one morning, some years ago, I went into the church of Santa Felicita in Florence, I did not know that I was taking the first step in a task that has since then occupied all my leisure. It was in the autumn, and I imagined — it seems to come back to me — that on such a sunny day it might be possible to see an altar-piece at which I had often peered in vain in the darkness of the Capponi Chapel. I was not mistaken. The light, slanting through the upper windows of the nave, was falling even into that dimmest of corners and, in the fugitive splendour, for the first time I really saw Pontormo's "Deposition."

The moment was one of unexpected revelation. As I studied the picture with amazement and delight, I became conscious not only of its beauty but of the blindness with which I had accepted the prejudice of those for whom Andrea del Sarto is the last great Florentine artist and his younger contemporaries, one and all, mere facile eclectics whose work Vasari summed up in the frescoes of the Palazzo Vecchio.

I had discovered Pontormo. Little by little I made my way through the neglect into which he had fallen, and he became for me a living person. His solitary aloofness appealed to me, his disdain of patronage, and the passion with which he pursued the phantom of a more creative, a more personal form of expression than the graphic arts are perhaps capable of affording.

His drawings quickened my sense of his evolution. They are more numerous than those of any other Tuscan who worked before 1550. And, as I turned them over through many months, I experienced, again and again, moments of the intellectual pleasure that comes from the recognition of rare and significant things. At that time Mr. Bernhard Berenson's essay in his "Drawings of the Florentine Painters" was the only attempt

that had been made to estimate the importance of Pontormo's sketches, and in studying them I found it an unfailing source of illumination. More recently a splendid folio of facsimiles, published under the auspices of the Uffizi Gallery, has made a limited selection of them known to a larger public.

But Pontormo was a greater draughtsman than anyone has realized. I have, indeed, come to feel that his drawings alone, with all of which I have dealt exhaustively in my "Dessins de Pontormo," are enough to give him a place among the greatest names in Italian art.

The lunette at Poggio a Cajano and his portraits, many of which have been ascribed to other masters, were my next enthusiasm. From them it was clear to me that Pontormo was a decorator, at times unsurpassed in his sense of the exquisitely appropriate, a subtle reader of the souls of men and, in more ways than one, the founder of modern portraiture.

The book is divided into eight parts: a critical study of Pontormo's life; a catalogue raisonné of his authentic works; a catalogue raisonné of the pictures that have been ascribed to him; a catalogue of the pictures attributed to him at sales and in loan exhibitions; a catalogue of paintings and frescoes that have been destroyed, lost, or are as yet unidentified; an appendix in which I have discussed his apprenticeship in greater detail than was advisable in the text itself; an appendix in which I have transcribed thirty-six documents relative to his career, most of which are now printed for the first time; an appendix that consists of a transcript of his diary, which has never before been published, and a chronological reconstruction of its pages followed by analyses of the material it contains.

The Index, which is alphabetical and analytical, refers to the notes as well as to the text. No bibliography has been added because, with the exception of the brief notices in the Uffizi folio of his drawings, Berenson's essay, my "Dessins," and a few scattered articles devoted chiefly to individual pictures, nothing that is not a mere repetition of Vasari's narrative has been written on the subject. A complete running bibliography of the references to Pontormo that occur here and there in the

literature of the history of art will be found in the footnotes and in the bibliographies of the catalogues raisonnés.

In the Catalogue of Authentic Pictures I have studied the seventy surviving works that I believe to be genuine. After the text itself this is the most important part of the book. In the Catalogue of Attributed Pictures I have examined in detail one hundred and nine pictures which I am persuaded have been erroneously given to Pontormo. Some of these are still ascribed to him; others now bear names concerning the fitness of which I am not always in accord with other critics. In the case of a few others, notably the "Pietà," in the Academy at Florence, the "Portrait of a Man," in Stuttgart, the "Portrait of a Lady," in Turin, and the two portraits in the Jarves Collection, further study has modified the opinion that I expressed in my "Dessins." This catalogue, by the strange diversity of the pictures it contains, reveals the vague impressions and misapprehensions that have prevailed about Pontormo's manner. Since, in a way, it defines by elimination some of the qualities that distinguish his work, it may serve a purpose and prevent, in some measure, the repetition of false attributions. In it will be found three pictures ascribed to Pontormo by Berenson, which I have not seen and of which I have not been able to obtain photographs. No attributions could carry greater weight or deserve more scrupulous attention. I have, however, not felt that I could stand sponsor for the authenticity of any picture with which I am personally unacquainted.

In both catalogues all the known material related to each picture is, for the sake of easy reference, arranged in the following order: (1) the title preceded by the collection or gallery number; (2) a detailed description of the composition and the colour; (3) the "procédés" and the size; (4) a critical account of the history of the picture, its derivation, iconography, significance, and influence upon other pictures; (5) its condition; (6) its date; (7) all preparatory drawings now known to exist with all photographs or reproductions that have been made of them; (8) documents; (9) reproductions, including copies and engravings; (10) bibliography.

In addition to the pictures cited in the two catalogues just mentioned, there are thirty-eight others ascribed to Pontormo in catalogues of sales and loan exhibitions. These and all details known about them I have placed, as a matter of record, in a third catalogue, although such attributions are in general quite arbitrary and have no value for the antiquarian, unless he has been able to examine the panels or canvases in question, most of which cannot now be traced. An illustration, however, has not infrequently been sufficient to convince me that the picture to which it refers has without reason been thought to be a Pontormo.

Last, in this part of the book, comes the list of forty-four works, now lost or unidentified. They are ascribed to Pontormo by the documents, by Vasari, or by other early writers, and among them several, with which many drawings that survive can be identified, are of peculiar interest.

The ideal of absolute completeness that I have kept before me is, I am fully aware, unattainable in catalogues of this kind. Pictures and drawings, attributed to Pontormo and as yet unknown to me, may at any time make their way into the market or be referred to in articles concerned with more or less obscure collections.

Except for a few cases where measurements in feet or inches have been cited, the size of pictures and drawings is given in metres or centimetres.

The transcriptions of the documents and of Pontormo's diary reproduce exactly the form, spelling, and abbreviations of the originals.

In the course of my researches I have made more than three hundred photographs. From these I have drawn most of my illustrations, all of which have been placed in chronological order, between the text and the Catalogue of Authentic Pictures to facilitate reference to them from either the former or the latter. They should not only help the reader to follow Pontormo's development as an artist but enable him to trace the evolution of some of the more important paintings. To give a fuller idea of Pontormo's draughtsmanship I have included

illustrations of a few drawings which I have discussed so fully in my "Dessins" that further reference to them in this book seemed superfluous.

My thanks are especially due to George Parmly Day, Esq., without whose generous and sympathetic interest this book might never have been printed; to Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., who has consented to give my work the authority and interpretation of a foreword from his pen; to H. G. Dwight, Esq., who has pointed out to me certain pictures ascribed to Pontormo and who has read the proofs; to Mrs. Katharine Hooker, for her constant encouragement and help; to J. V. Alden, Esq., for information about the pictures known as Pontormos in America, to the accuracy of which I am now able to testify; to Porter Garnett, Esq., whose knowledge of typography has helped me to avoid errors into which I might otherwise have fallen; to Signor O. H. Giglioli; to L. D. Caskey, Esq.; to Carleton L. Brownson, Esq.; to E. Byrne Hackett, Esq.; to Signor Gino Carlo Sensani, for verifying the reading of three documents, for transcribing the sonnets on Pontormo's death and for sending me photographs and descriptions of several attributed pictures on which my notes were incomplete; to Dr. Osvald Sirén, for suggestions with regard to the pictures ascribed to Pontormo in the Jarves Collection, the catalogue of which he has recently written with scholarly acumen; to William Clifford, Esq., for access to the shelves of the Library of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, a courtesy that greatly facilitated and shortened my work there; to Bernhard Berenson, Esq., to whose books I owe the beginning of my interest in Italian art; to M. Henry Lemonnier, membre de l'Institut, M. Émile Bertaux, and M. Émile Mâle, whose fine sense of values, clarity of vision and flexible thoroughness of method have been my touchstone in the pursuit of these studies. I must also acknowledge my gratitude to the publishers who generously allowed me to increase the scope of the illustrations when the book was in course of preparation.

F. M. C.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. S. F. — Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

B. F. D. — Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters.*

B. F. P. R. — Berenson, *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance.*

Dessins — Clapp, *Dessins de Pontormo.*

D. G. U. — *Disegni della Galleria degli Uffizi* — the folio devoted to Pontormo's drawings.

On Certain Drawings — Clapp, *On Certain Drawings of Pontormo* (pamphlet).

Photo. F. M. C. — photographs taken by the author.

Vasari — Milanesi's edition of the "Lives."

JACOPO CARUCCI
DA PONTORMO

CHAPTER I

1494-1512

Vasari says that Jacopo Carucci, called Il Pontormo, was generally believed to be descended from an old Tuscan family that came originally from Ancisa, the famous "castello" in Valdarno where Petrarch's ancestors were born.[1] From other sources we know that in the Middle Ages one branch of the Carucci lived in Monte Pilli and Terzano, castle-towns on the Poggio di San Martino in the Arno valley,[2] and that there were in Florence between the thirteenth and the seventeenth century still other Carucci whose forbears had lived in Colle Val d'Elsa.[3]

Numerous documents in the Florentine Archives, the Hospital of the Innocents, the Marucelliana, and the Riccardiana, mention Florentines of our painter's name. The earliest of these references[4] known to me states that the family burial-place was in Santa Croce, under the vaults of the room of the Compagnia di Loreto, and that there one formerly read: "Filiorum Carucci 1298." In 1348 a Francesco Carucci,[5]

[1] Vasari, VI, 245.

[2] Biblioteca Nazionale, Firenze, Priorista di Monaldi, p. 267 v. See Appendix II, Doc. 1.

[3] A. S. F., Consorteria, S. Giovanni, I, 94 v. See Appendix II, Doc. 2.

[4] Biblioteca Riccardiana, Firenze, Cod. 1894, p. 132. See Appendix II, Doc. 3.

[5] Biblioteca Nazionale, Firenze, Codice Araldico, p. 129. See Appendix II, Doc. 6.

"pianellaio,"[6] was buried in San Pancrazio, and it was in the following year that the first member of the Monte Pilli branch of the family took up his residence in Florence[7]—a certain Taddeo di Caruccio, two of whose descendants were buried almost half a century later in the cloister of Santa Croce and their gravestone marked: "Ruggieri Taddei Carucci et Suor MCCCLXX." Soon after this latter date we come upon the earliest figure among Pontormo's remoter ancestors whose place in Florentine society is made clear by the documents, a Ruggieri di Taddeo Carucci[8] who on February 28, 1380, was one of the Ufficiali della Torre and evidently, therefore, a person of some importance. In 1381 a Rogerius Taddei Carucci,[9] "pannolini,"[10] is mentioned in the "Squittinio del Gonfalone di Bue," and we know that five years later, between March, 1386, and April, 1387, a Carucci of the same name,[11] but this time called a "vinaiolo,"[12] sat in the Signoria of Florence. The parish churches of the family were Santa Croce and San Remigio.[13]

Pontormo's ancestors appear, then, to have been burghers and free citizens[14] of the Republic of Florence. They followed humble trades like many of their fellow-townsmen, but they also took part, at an early date, in governing the city. During the fifteenth century their fortunes do not seem to have risen, and, although one branch of the family continued to live in Florence, we know little about them except that in 1460 a Ruggiero Carucci was buried in Santa Croce,[15] and that between 1481

[6] Tile or slipper maker.

[7] Priorista di Monaldi, p. 267 v.

[8] Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 1187. See Appendix II, Doc. 4.

[9] *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, XVI, 139. These last three allusions to a Rogerius or Ruggieri Carucci may possibly refer to the same person, although in that case he would seem to have followed different occupations at different times. The inscription on the tombstone in Santa Croce is drawn from the "Poligrafo Gargane," now in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence.

[10] Linen-draper.

[11] Biblioteca Marucelliana, Firenze, Cod. C 1, p. 278. See Appendix II, Doc. 5.

[12] Wine merchant.

[13] Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 1894, p. 132. See Appendix II, Doc. 3.

[14] For the arms of the family, see Appendix II, Doc. 1 and 6.

[15] Codice Araldico, p. 129. See Appendix II, Doc. 6.

and 1622 the books of the Consorteria[16] cite no less than eighteen Carucci, all of whom were of the Gonfalone del Bue, and lived in the quarter of Santa Croce.[17] In the records of the Hospital of the Innocents,[18] a Lisabetta Carucci, wife of Pagolo, is mentioned several times in 1528-1530, and it is evident from other sources that later on the Carucci[19] owned a chapel in the Carmine which passed in 1624 into the possession of the Della Moriana family.[20]

Pontormo's father, Bartolomeo di Jacopo di Martino Carucci, was — Vasari's testimony in this connection is precise[21] — a Florentine, a painter, "secondo que' tempi ragionevole," and a pupil of Ghirlandaio. Of his life and work nothing is known. I have not been able to find, either in the Florentine Archives or in those of the Collegiata of Empoli, even so much as the date of his death. According to Vasari, he carried on his trade chiefly among the hamlets of the Valdarno, and it is not impossible that unidentified specimens of his work may still exist in the frescoes of the churches or shrines of those villages, or among the paintings that once belonged to them, but have since been scattered.

Bartolomeo di Jacopo's wandering life as a provincial artist brought him finally, sometime about 1490, to Empoli,[22] and while he was at work there upon certain pictures he went to live in the village of Pontormo, which lies, at a distance of not more than a mile from Empoli, in the direction of Montelupo.

[16] A. S. F., Consorteria, S. Croce, I and II, 83; *idem*, Gonfalone Bue, II, 26 v. See Appendix II, Doc. 7.

[17] The Carucci da Colle lived in the Gonfalone del Chiave. The books of the Consorteria (I, 94 v.) mention two members of this branch of the family. See Appendix II, Doc. 2.

[18] Entrata e Uscita D (1527-1528), p. 54; *idem*, Z, p. 52 (October 10, 1530); for mention of a Checci Carucci, *idem*, p. 54. See Appendix II, Doc. 8.

[19] For references of a later date to other members of the family, see Bibl. Magliab., Cod. 401, Cl. 25, p. 80—"Ruggieri di Taddeo Carucci, 1545, De Notai Nobili"; A. S. F., Necrologia della Grascia (1570-1591)—"M. Marietta donna fu di S. Ruggieri Carucci in S. Croce 10 luglio, 1572"; A. S. F., Catasto, Nicchio, 1534, G. L., S. Spirito—"Jacopo di Giovanni Carucci"; *idem*, Bue, F. I., S. Croce—"Jacopo di Luca Carucci"; see also Ammirato, *Stor. Spogl.*, p. 329; Bibl. Riccard., Cod. 3107, p. 163.

[20] Biblioteca Marucelliana, Cod. B VII. 14, p. 11. See Appendix II, Doc. 9.

[21] VI, 245.

[22] *Ibid.*

It is now a diminutive place, although in early days it had at least three churches. Between it and Empoli a little torrent runs, which is called the Orme, and from the bridge that crosses this stream the village takes its name.[23] Around it on all sides the level land, covered with vineyards, stretches away toward the olive-grey lower slopes of Monte Albano and east, across broader spaces, to foot-hills rising range behind range to the Apennines. The landscape is Tuscan with a touch in it of Pisan breadth and a faint taste of the sea. Its salient features are the Orme bridge and the Romanesque campanile of San Michele. Here, according to Vasari, Jacopo's father married Alessandra, "una molto virtuosa e da bene fanciulla," daughter of Pasquale di Zanobi and Mona Brigida, and here, on May 24, 1494,[24] our master was born. The tradition of art was part of Pontormo's inheritance.

Jacopo spent his earliest years in his native place, where, while still a child, he lost in quick succession, father, mother and grandfather. It was to his grandmother, therefore, that he owed his bringing-up and early education, and it was at her instance that he was taught the rudiments of Latin and to read and write. Later on she took him to Florence and placed him in the care of a certain Battista, "calzolaio," who was a distant kinsman of hers.[25] This journey must have been made before

[23] O. H. Giglioli, *Empoli Artistica*, p. 192.

[24] The sacristy of San Michele at Pontormo contains no baptismal register earlier than the seventeenth century. Some of the records of this church may, however, be preserved among the books of the Knights of Santo Stefano in the Archives of Pisa. They are not to be found in the Collegiata at Empoli. The date that we have given is based upon the following calculation: The commemorative tablet, placed, it would seem, in the choir of San Lorenzo in 1558 when the frescoes that Pontormo painted there were at last finished by Bronzino, bore an inscription which is quoted by Moreni (II, 119). This gave Pontormo's age, when he died, as 62 years, 7 months and 6 days. From the Libro dei Morti we know that his death occurred on December 31, 1556, or January 1, 1557 (New Style). Simple subtraction gives the date of his birth. Vasari (VI, 245) erroneously states that Pontormo was born in 1493 and that he was sixty-five at the time of his death. Milanesi (VI, 288) notices these errors and quotes in a note the inscription from San Lorenzo. We now know that when Pontormo became a "commesso" of the Hospital of the Innocents, on August 20, 1549, he gave his age as fifty-five—conclusive proof that he was born in 1494.

[25] Vasari, VI, 246.

1503, and we may surmise that, even at that early date, the orphan boy's future had been decided upon.

Vasari implies that Jacopo's training as a painter did not begin until 1506-1507,[26] although, from a document[27] that I have discovered, it appears to be not unlikely that before April 10, 1503, he had already begun his apprenticeship, for on that day the monks of Santa Maria Novella, wishing to record the terms upon which they had sold a house in the Gualfonda to Albertinelli, had a deed drawn up in which mention is made of a Jacopo Carucci. Since, between 1500 and 1505, no adult of that name is referred to in either the Catasto or the Consorteria, we are, it would seem, justified in believing that the Jacopo in question was none other than our master, although he was, of course, only a child.[28]

Did the fact that his father had been a painter influence his relatives when they thought of choosing a trade for the boy? Was Jacopo a painter by chance? Or did he show an aptitude that parents in those days were often quick to notice and appreciate? We do not know. We have, however, reason to conjecture that he was precocious, for Vasari speaks of a small "Annunciation," painted while Jacopo was still with Albertinelli,[29] which the elder master used proudly to show to all those who came to his "bottega." Raphael once saw it, and was amazed that it was the work of one so young. The little panel must therefore have been in existence before September 5, 1508, the date of Raphael's departure for Rome.[30] Pontormo was not then fourteen.

We cannot tell how long Jacopo frequented Albertinelli's workshop, but in 1507 he had perhaps already left it. At any rate, Albertinelli was not the clever boy's only master. As an orphan, who had escaped from the bondage of apprenticeship

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] A. S. F., Convento 102, No. 89, Ricordi, pp. 14, 41 f. See Appendix II, Doc. 10.

[28] For the early age at which children were sometimes apprenticed, see Vasari's statement (VI, 202) that Bugiardini went to work with Ghirlandaio while the latter was painting the choir of Santa Maria Novella, in other words, when he was only ten years old

[29] Vasari, VI, 246.

[30] *Idem*, IV, 329.

by some happy chance the nature of which we are unable to define, he was freer than most gifted boys are at his age. No parent hampered him, for, if we are to believe Vasari, Mona Brigida soon returned with Jacopo's sister[31] to Pontormo, and from there she could hardly have influenced her grandson. However that may have been, we now know from a document that, on January 24, 1508, all that was left of his father's tiny estate passed into the hands of the Public Guardians.[32]

Left, then, to work out his own future unaided and undirected Pontormo gave immediate evidence of his mobility of spirit. No master satisfied him, and he passed rapidly from one to another. Before he reached sixteen he had tasted something of the simplicity of the quattrocento tradition that lingered in the work of Albertinelli, the fantastic playfulness of Pier di Cosimo, the enigmatic spirit of Leonardo's recondite beauty, and the warm naturalism of Andrea. These were, according to Vasari,[33] his masters, and Pontormo's early work corroborates his biographer's assertion: it is a curious mixture of many tendencies. The doll-like figures in trailing robes of the "Hospital of San Matteo" (fig. 1) owe much to Pier di Cosimo; the composition of the "San Luca Madonna" (fig. 2) is well within the canon of Fra Bartolommeo, Albertinelli's master and partner; the chiaroscuro of the Visdomini and Farinola panels is derived from the practice of Leonardo; the "putti" of the Santa Veronica fresco and the saints of the "Visitation" (fig. 5), at the Annunziata, are reminiscent of Andrea.

The variety of influences that we detect in these pictures demonstrates that as a youth Pontormo was restless and impressionable. Vasari represents him as thoughtful, melancholy, and taciturn, nursing his plans in silence and not infrequently an object of ridicule to his fellow-apprentices most of whom must have been of smaller talent and of coarser grain. A friendless, bitter childhood marked the sensitive and precocious boy whose timidity forecast the solitary shyness of his later life.

[31] *Idem*, VI, 246. [32] See Appendix II, Doc. 11. [33] VI, 246.

CHAPTER II

1512-1518

When Giuliano de' Medici rode into Florence with his relatives and friends on September 14, 1512,[1] Soderini's government was at an end, and the city faced a new régime. Vengeance was visited upon the conspirators Boscoli and Capponi,[2] persecutions upon the friends, even upon the dependents of Soderini,[3] and the people applauded. A year later they publicly rejoiced at the election of Leo X,[4] and no observer could have failed to realize that, in the spirit of Florentine democracy, fundamental changes had taken place. One curious result of these changes was that, from 1512 on, an increasing proportion of the orders given to artists came from the Medici or their satellites. No scantiest fragment of information concerning the political sympathies of the young Pontormo has survived, and it is not inconceivable that he was too much absorbed in his work to care what changes took place around him. All we can say is that he received, between 1512 and 1515, five commissions from the usurpers or their partisans.[5]

We do not know to whom Jacopo owed his first important commission. It was for a fresco which was once in a chapel of San Ruffillo in Piazza dell'Olio[6] — a work for which we have no documents.[7] Vasari places it after the "Faith and Charity"

[1] Guicciardini, *Stor. d'Italia,* XI, ii, 5, pp. 15-20.

[2] Villari, II, 195.

[3] Guicciardini, *Op. ined.,* VI, 146.

[4] Nardi, VI, ii, 31. Landucci, pp. 336 f.

[5] The "Faith and Charity" of the portal of the Annunziata, the triumphal cars for the Compagnia del Broncone and for the Compagnia del Diamante, the triumphal arch at the head of the Via del Pelagio, the frescoes in the Pope's Chapel.

[6] The church was destroyed when the palace of the archbishop was rebuilt; the fresco was transferred to the Chapel of San Luca in the Annunziata in 1813.

[7] The records of the church have disappeared.

of the façade of the Annunziata.[8] We have, however, every reason to conjecture that it was executed between the autumn of 1512 and the summer of 1513. The upper part of this fresco terminated in a lunette of "God the Father with Cherubim," which has been destroyed. It is interesting to remark that the same motive had been treated by Albertinelli[9] once at least to our knowledge, and that when Jacopo himself used it, a year or two later in the Pope's Chapel, he did so quite in the spirit of his old master. The ruined remains of the San Ruffillo fresco (fig. 2) are still preserved in the Chapel of San Luca at the Annunziata and reveal a Madonna standing, the Child in her arms, and with her two saints that stand and two that kneel. These figures have in them something of the last flicker of the quattrocento tradition, which Albertinelli had transmitted to our master. The composition is reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo, and, though juvenile, it is not without a stately simplicity and a naïve charm. Pontormo was, in all likelihood, already at work in Andrea's shop when he executed this fresco,[10] but he had not yet made his own the larger characteristics of Andrea's craft. The reason for this was simple: Andrea developed much more slowly than Jacopo, and, though he was eight years Pontormo's senior, his style was still, in 1512-1514, tentative and immature.

For the San Ruffillo fresco we have two drawings (fig. 3 and 4), which are particularly precious documents, because they give us an insight into the formation of Pontormo's draughtsmanship. One (Dresden, No. 200)[11] is an angular variant, scattered in its modelling but searching in its contours, of the technique that was employed by Andrea between 1510 and 1514, and in it Jacopo's effort to imitate his master is unquestionably evident. He tried, crudely but earnestly, to catch the tricks of Andrea's hand. The other sheet (Uffizi

[8] VI, 256. Richa, IV, 146.

[9] Cf., for example, the "Holy Trinity" by Albertinelli (Vasari, IV, 222) which is now No. 63 in the Academy at Florence.

[10] Andrea's shop was in the Sapienza, near the Annunziata. He shared it with Franciabigio.

[11] *Dessins*, pp. 83 f.

6676 verso),[12] a study from the nude for the Madonna, is more vigorous, and in its structure recalls the nudes of the "Battle of the Cascina." Even at so early a date Jacopo was feeling his way in a new direction.

Late in the summer of 1513 our young painter received a more important task. The Servites, who were "Palleschi," were energetically proceeding with the embellishment of their convent of the Annunziata in celebration of the election of Leo X, and in the summer following that event, Andrea,[13] Franciabigio and Rosso were all at work in the small cloister or atrium of their church. Jacopo was chosen, almost by accident, to do part of the projected work, and in this connection Vasari tells a story.[14] Andrea di Cosimo[15] had, it would seem, been commissioned to paint the arms of Leo above the principal arch of the façade and, finding himself unequal to the task, had called in Pontormo. Payments that I have found in the Libro del Camarlingo prove that Jacopo worked on this fresco in the autumn and winter of 1513 and in the spring of 1514.[16] The last payment was made in June, 1514. From these same accounts it is also clear that the mechanical part of the decoration, such as the gilding, was done by the very Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini,[17] who according to Vasari had undertaken to complete with his own hands the "stemma" and all its decoration. Still another story, recorded by Vasari, has it that

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

[13] I have found several payments made to him during this period (A. S. F., Convento 119, No. 705, pp. 76, 106, 116).

[14] VI, 248.

[15] For the life of Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini, see Vasari, V, 204-210. The records of the Servites tell us that in 1510-1511 he painted the façade of their church in monochrome (A. S. F., Convento 119, Libro del Camarlingo, 1509-1512, p. 49; Entrata e Uscita, No. 747, p. 84). From documents that I have discovered we know that he also painted the arms of Leo X between two doors opening into the church from the small cloister. For these he received on September 3, 1513, fourteen lire on account (A. S. F., Convento 119, No. 705, p. 103). See also Vasari, V, 207. Feltrini was skilled in gilding and grotesques. On several occasions he was associated with Pontormo, with Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, with Franciabigio (at Poggio a Cajano), and still later with Vasari (decorations for the reception of Charles V at Florence).

[16] A. S. F., Convento 119, No. 705, pp. 113 v., 122 v., 124 r., 127 r., 132 r. See Appendix II, Doc. 12.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 124 r.

the young Pontormo hid himself in Sant'Agostino alla Porta a Faenza to make his drawings, and that until they were quite finished he did not go to the "bottega" to show them to his master. When Andrea saw them he was stupefied. And from that day, for reasons known only to himself, he shut the doors of his shop against Jacopo.[18] Such is Vasari's tale, mere gossip perhaps, but indicative of an attitude of mind not unlike that of the whimsical and solitary Pontormo.

He now withdrew from the life of the "botteghe," and, says his biographer, by practising great economy — "cominciò a fare sottilissime spese perchè era poverino" — he finished his part in the decoration of Leo's arms for the Servites. Hardly, however, had he completed it when he made up his mind to destroy it, and paint it all over again from a design upon which he had already begun work when to his great indignation the fresco was uncovered. Here too, Vasari's narrative is true to Jacopo's sensitive, searching, and disinterested nature. Even as a boy he had a touching eagerness of mind, a thoroughgoing contempt for work that he had put behind him.

The fresco, which represented Faith and Charity[19] with two "putti" that supported the papal blazon, is now all but obliterated, although one still dimly discerns two seated figures, voluminously draped, and about them, traces of "putti," seated or flying. That phase of Andrea's art which is exemplified by his "Marriage of St. Catherine" seems to have presided over the composition, but the work has been too badly damaged to yield any secrets of form or modelling. Vasari devotes to this decoration two pages in which he praises the beauty of the "putti," "la dolcezza delle teste," and the refreshing daring of the treatment.[20] Throughout the sixteenth century it was famous.[21]

With these figures no drawings can be identified. One faded sketch of a "putto" clinging to a tree (Uffizi 6706)[22] is

[18] Vasari, VI, 248.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 250.
[21] *Ibid.*, VI, 248 f. Bocchi, pp. 415 f. Richa, V, 52.
[22] *Dessins*, p. 249.

perhaps a fragment of Jacopo's preparatory work, but we hazard this conjecture only because in Bocchi's opinion a "putto" in that pose was one of the beauties of the composition.[23]

Two drawings for Medici arms supported by two figures exist, in the Uffizi, that one is sometimes tempted to connect, at any rate remotely, with the "Faith and Charity" of the Annunziata, to which, however, in its final form at least, they are not related. Neither, in my opinion, can they be identified with any of the Medici arms surmounted with tiara and keys and supported by "putti" that one sees in the ceiling of the Pope's Chapel at Santa Maria Novella, although one of the drawings (Uffizi 418) may preserve an idea, finally rejected, for these bearings, in spite of the fact that we find in it no indication of the papal keys. It is likewise not inconceivable that the other drawing (Uffizi 417)[24] is a sketch for the arms of Leo that Pontormo painted for his native town, inside the castle gate which opened into the main street.[25] This "stemma," of which no vestige remains, was executed just after the "Faith and Charity." At all events, these two sketches are among the earliest specimens that we have of Pontormo's draughtsmanship, and in them his conception of form owes much to Andrea, but the stroke, hooked and broad at one end, is an evidence of certain habits of hand that could have been acquired only in Albertinelli's "bottega."

No documents survive for the frescoes of the Pope's Chapel. Indirect evidence however indicates clearly enough the date of this decoration; it must have been begun during the summer of 1515. In writing the lives of several other artists, Vasari speaks of the embellishments of the Pope's apartments in the convent of Santa Maria Novella.[26] Ridolfo Ghirlandaio received the commission for all these decorations, but the work had to be finished under pressure for Leo's triumphal return

[23] Bocchi, p. 416: "E ammirato un altro puttino, che da alto guarda in giù, ed affacciatosi ad una spronda, sembra per l'altezza grande, di hauer timore di cadere." Cf. Richa, *loc. cit.*

[24] *Dessins,* pp. 89 f.

[25] Vasari, VI, 250.

[26] *Ibid.,* pp. 255 f., 541.

to his native town, and Ridolfo, unable to finish it, without assistance in the time given, confided to Pontormo the chapel which was, in some respects, the most important part of the undertaking. Leo entered Florence on November 15, 1515. Pontormo's decoration must, therefore, have been completed before that date.

The chapel is on the north side of the convent and is lighted by a single window. The ceiling, a barrel vaulting, forms with the end-walls circular lunettes. In the lunette behind the altar is a "Coronation of the Virgin," perhaps by Ridolfo,[27] which has been disastrously repainted. In the lunette over the door Pontormo painted in fresco a "Santa Veronica Holding the Sudario." The saint kneels facing us, a figure of fine simplicity. The sweeping folds of her robe recall Albertinelli's drapery, but her face, long and oval, suggests a type evolved by Michelangelo as early as 1505. Right and left, in profile, kneels a cherub, holding a flaming vase. The composition is adequate but not inspired. The ceiling and side-walls are covered with grotesques in the geometrical framework of which are four small medallions, in each, a flying "putto"; and four squares, in each, the arms of Leo supported by "putti." In the middle of the ceiling, in a large "tondo," Pontormo painted a God the Father descending, arms outspread, a figure altogether in the tradition of Mariotto. Only the medallions and squares of this ceiling decoration were executed by Pontormo, and even these have been so completely repainted as to show now no trace of his hand. The grotesques were executed by Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini, who in all probability designed them as well.

The "Madonna of San Ruffillo," the "Faith and Charity" of the Annunziata, and the decorations of the Pope's Chapel, are the earliest achievements of Pontormo that now survive. He was hardly nineteen when he painted them and, although they do not reveal the talent that his later works might lead us to expect, they do show clearly certain characteristics of his maturer years in the gracious strangeness of the heads, the

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 541, note 3.

supple movement of the figures, and in the love of novelty that here and there is apparent in them.

The festivities following Leo's elevation to the papacy brought Pontormo many commissions to which Vasari, writing about 1560 with a desire to please Cosimo I, devotes more than six pages.[28] In the carnival procession of 1514, the Compagnia del Diamante, a society led by Giuliano de' Medici, had three triumphal cars which represented "Youth," "Manhood," and "Age" — subjects chosen by Andrea Dazzi,[29] the latinist. The woodwork of the cars was by Raffaello delle Viviole and Il Carota, and the decorative motives, by Andrea di Cosimo.[30] The costumes were designed by Giuliano da Vinci and Bernardino di Giordano, while the songs were written by Antonio Alamanni. Pontormo painted on these three cars stories of the Transformations of the Gods,[31] and so great was their success that they stirred to emulation a rival society, Il Broncone, of which Lorenzino was the leader. For the carnival of 1515, this company ordered no less than seven cars, the subjects represented upon which were chosen by Jacopo Nardi,[32] who also wrote the songs.[33] For the first car Pontormo painted on panels, and probably in chiaroscuro, "Legends of Saturn," for the second, "Scenes from the Life of Numa Pompilius," for the third, "Scenes from the Life of Titus Manlius Torquatus," for the fourth, "The Deeds of Julius Cæsar," for the fifth, "Episodes from the Life of Augustus," for the sixth, "Scenes from the Life of Trajan." The seventh car represented "The Golden Age" and on it were ornamental figures in relief by Bandinelli,[34] among them "The Four Cardinal Virtues." All we can say of these lost works is that they seem to have increased Pontormo's popularity. They were probably not unlike the decorations prepared for Leo's visit to Florence in

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 250-255.

[29] 1475-1548. See W. Rüdiger, *Andreas aus Florenz,* Halle, 1897.

[30] Vasari, VI, 251.

[31] The panels of these cars were once in the possession of Pietro Paulo Galeotti, the goldsmith.

[32] 1476-1556.

[33] *Canti Carnascialeschi,* Firenze, 1559, pp. 120-124.

[34] Vasari, VI, 254.

the autumn of 1515.[35] On that occasion Jacopo painted various compositions — among which Vasari mentions a "Pallas Tuning her Instrument to Apollo's Lyre" — on a triumphal arch of wood erected by Baccio da Montelupo in front of the Badia, at the head of the Via Pelagio.[36] These paintings were in a ruinous condition even when Vasari wrote, and like the cars of the Diamante and the Broncone they have long since perished.

We can, however, form some idea of the character of such ephemeral decorations from another "carro" which was decorated by Pontormo, and with which the officials of the Zecca used to take part in the yearly procession of San Giovanni.[37] It was broken up in 1810, but twenty small panels from it are still preserved in the Palazzo Vecchio,[38] many of them, it is true, so grossly and so many times repainted as to leave hardly a vestige of Pontormo's hand. They are three long panels: "St. John in the Wilderness," "The Preaching of St. John," "The Beheading of the Saint";[39] six smaller, vertical panels: "The Baptist," "The Visitation," "St. Zenobius," "Zechariah," with two others which represent an apostle or a prophet; and twelve small, square panels of "putti" dancing and playing, some of which are delightful.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 255. See also A. S. F., Carteggio di Cosimo I, Cl. 50, No. 239, carta 1, Relazione dell'ingresso che fece Leone X in detto giorno nella città di Firenze, 30 nov., 1515.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 255. Numerous triumphal arches and temporary decorations were erected for this occasion. Vasari speaks of them a number of times. Pier di Cosimo, Granacci, Baccio da Montelupo, Rosso, Andrea, Jacopo di Sandro, Giuliano del Tasso, Bandinelli, Sansovino, Rustici and Pontormo were all employed in preparing them. Vasari states in his "Life of Pontormo" that the arch at the Badia was by Montelupo. In his "Life of Andrea del Sarto" he says that the arch between the Badia and the Palazzo del Podestà was by Granacci and Aristotile da San Gallo. In his "Life of Granacci" he speaks of it as "dirimpetto alla porta di Badia" (V, 342)—a phrase which he repeats in his "Life of Aristotile" (VI, 436). For Pier di Cosimo's, Andrea's, Jacopo di Sandro's, Montelupo's, and Granacci's work in connection with these festivities, see Vasari, V, 24 and note 3. For Rustici's decorations, see *idem*, VI, 602.

[37] Vasari, VI, 256. We have no document for this work; the account-books of the Zecca between 1510 and 1530 have been lost.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 257, note 1. Milanesi states that eighteen pieces still exist; in reality we have twenty fragments.

[39] The composition of this panel is practically identical with that of a "predella" picture (Academy, Florence, No. 77) which is attributed to Andrea.

On two of these the "putti" support Medici arms. The woodwork of the car, which has disappeared, was by Marco del Tasso. What the original grouping of these fragments was cannot now be determined, although a notion of the whole may be formed from that other car that one sees in the streets of Florence on the Saturday before Easter — the Carro de' Pazzi.

Vasari places the Carro della Zecca between the "San Ruffillo Madonna" and the fresco of the "Visitation" in the cloister of the Annunziata, that is, in 1514-1515. Certainly the composition of the little "Visitation," which once belonged to it, is closely derived from Mariotto's "Visitation" of 1503,[40] and is one of the last traces of his old master's instruction left in Pontormo's art. Ruined as it is, the panel is more vital than Albertinelli's altar-piece.

For this neglected work of Pontormo's I have discovered one drawing (fig. 8; Uffizi 6581 verso)[41] — a study for "The Baptist." The draughtsmanship, and especially the modelling of the forearm, place this sheet about 1515-1516, which is the date that Vasari gives, by implication, for the undertaking.

The relation between the "Madonna with Saints" that Pontormo painted for San Ruffillo and his "Visitation" in the cloister of the Annunziata[42] is quite evident: the latter (fig. 5) is merely an elaboration of the former (fig. 2), and in both the face of the Virgin is the same. The features of the woman with a bundle on her head in the "Visitation" recall the Santa Lucia of the "San Ruffillo Madonna." A similarity of rhythm in the two compositions makes these resemblances still more striking; both arrangements are triangular, with a figure on either side. The "Visitation," however, is strongly influenced by Andrea, although vestiges, almost imperceptible, of Albertinelli's methods may be discovered in it by attentive study. But the movement, the power and novelty of the fresco, its light harmonies, its fresh colour, its crisp execution, reveal a personality more vivacious than Mariotto's, while the whole

[40] Now in the Uffizi.

[41] *Dessins*, pp. 166 f.

[42] Vasari, VI, 256 f. Bocchi, p. 424. Richa, VIII, 60.

breathes a poetry compared with which the "Birth of the Virgin," painted by Andrea in the same cloister between 1511 and 1514,[43] is pat and prosaic. Only the grouping of the eight figures in the background shows a certain inexperience.

It is now possible to supplement the documents relative to this fresco that are mentioned by Milanesi and incompletely cited by Colasanti.[44] The first payment was made in December, 1514, the last about the middle of June, 1516,[45] and the decoration was, therefore, unfinished when Leo came to Florence. For it Jacopo received eighty "lire."

The drawings for this work have perished with the exception of two studies,[46] one (fig. 6; Uffizi 6603) light and facile but tame, for the woman seated on the steps, the other (fig. 7; Uffizi 6542) for the "putto," seated to her right. Both are vaguely reminiscent of an early phase of Andrea's draughtsmanship, of which we have, in the Louvre,[47] an excellent example. Compared with our two studies for the "San Ruffillo Madonna," they mark a notable advance.

Just after the "Visitation" I am inclined to place a lost "Pietà" for which several drawings survive. The touch indicates that these sketches were drawn between 1516 and 1519, and in them Pontormo is master of his early technique. Five (Uffizi 6670 recto and verso; 6689; 6690 verso; 6691)[48] are studies for the same Dead Christ (fig. 9) and they are of a relaxation exquisitely felt. Uffizi 6670 verso is unmistakably for the same undertaking, which was perhaps the "Pietà" that Vasari[49] describes as having existed in a chapel of the garden of the San Gallo monks, outside the San Gallo gate, and which was evidently destroyed during the siege in 1529-1530. We

[43] Vasari, V, 67. On the cornice of the fire-place one reads: A. D. M. D. X. IIII.

[44] *Ibid.*, VI, 258, note 1. Colasanti, *Bull. soc. filol. romana*, II, 51, note 2.

[45] A. S. F., Convento 119, No. 705, pp. 149 v., 165 v., 192 v., 200 v., 202 v. See Appendix II, Doc. 13.

[46] *Dessins*, pp. 142, 180. Uffizi 6556 recto and verso are also sketches for this fresco. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 151, and *On Certain Drawings*, p. 7.

[47] No. 45.

[48] *Dessins*, pp. 221 f., 234 f., 237.

[49] VI, 260.

cannot cite documents to determine the date of this composition because the books of the convent have perished.

Sometime in these busy years Jacopo also painted over the door of the Women's Hospital,[50] a lost fresco of "Christ as Pilgrim." These figures were in chiaroscuro, and it is worthy of notice that Andrea was employing the same medium at precisely the same moment in the cloister of the Scalzo[51] — a coincidence that may have a certain bearing on Bocchi's statement[52] that, at the end of the sixteenth century, this fresco was generally thought to be by Andrea. There was probably in it a strong influence of his work.

To the same period belonged the arms of Giovanni Salviati, supported by two "putti" and surmounted by a cardinal's hat, which in Vasari's time adorned the courtyard of Filippo Spina's house, opposite its main entrance. These Vasari[53] places after the Visdomini altar-piece, although they were in all probability executed as early as 1517, in which year Salviati was made cardinal by Leo X.

The last of the undertakings that immediately followed the "Visitation" was the lunette frescoed in Fiesole over the gate of the Compagnia della Cecilia. An early sketch in red chalk (fig. 12) for this lost work exists in the Uffizi, which was marked in the seventeenth century: "Per la Sta Cecilia che è in Fiesole." I have found the finished study (fig. 11) in the Corsini Collection, in Rome.[54] The composition is admirable and corresponds precisely to Vasari's description[55] of the lunette: "una S. Cecilia colorita in fresco con alcune rose in mano tanto bella e tanto bene in qual luogo accomodata." The quality of both drawings clearly indicates 1517-1518 as the date of this decoration.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[51] A. S. F., Compagnia di San Giovanni detta dello Scalzo, Libro maestro, Debitori e Creditori B (1514-1535), p. 30.

[52] Ed. Cinelli, p. 19.

[53] VI, 261.

[54] *Dessins*, pp. 240 f., 333.

[55] VI, 257.

CHAPTER III

1518-1520

The "Visitation" at the Annunziata marks the culmination of Pontormo's first period. From Andrea he had taken solidity of form, variety of movement, and familiar simplicity of gesture — qualities which he touched, however, with a graciousness and a poetry that were unrevealed to his master's more pedestrian mind. With a fine instinct for decorative harmonies, he had lightened Andrea's warm but heavy colouring by eliminating the half-tones, thinning the yellows and the reds, and with great skill carrying a few, strong, light colours through a whole composition. But his restless mind found no repose. New problems of form attracted him, and new influences swayed his sensitive nature.

In the "Visitation," his figures show a tendency to a heroic largeness of type. Many sketches, drawn between 1513 and 1518, indicate beyond the possibility of a doubt that the source of this tendency was Michelangelo's cartoon of the "Battle of the Cascina." Jacopo was attracted by the easy play of muscles in new attitudes, which it revealed so abundantly, and some of the poses he studied many times. It is also quite clear that he was not unacquainted with certain lost drawings for the Sixtine. And since touch is more persistent than borrowed conceptions of type or gesture, these drawings resemble, from a technical point of view, certain sketches that Andrea made between 1512 and 1518, although Jacopo's work is, of course, not literal.

During these years he studied still another master — Leonardo da Vinci, whose influence, though infinitely less potent and lasting than that of Michelangelo, is strikingly present in the Visdomini altar-piece (fig. 13), which is the most

important picture that Pontormo painted after the "Visitation" and before the lunette at Poggio. Tentative exploration of new ground, crossing and recrossing of impulses old and new, are characteristic, as we have seen, of Jacopo's early work. These various tendencies meet in the Visdomini altar-piece. The St. Joseph, the St. James, and the St. John the Evangelist, recall Andrea, while the gestures of other figures are Leonardesque, as is the pose of the Christ Child and of the little St. John. From Leonardo too is derived the graduated chiaroscuro and the mysterious smile that plays upon many of the faces. It would almost seem that, when he painted certain parts of this picture, Pontormo had in mind an early work by Da Vinci, which was known and treasured then, but is now lost. The composition, on the contrary, is not derivative, but is based upon a curious attempt to create a new rhythm. One is tempted to believe that Pontormo meant the personages of the picture to be united, not by the passage of line into line, but by their common meditation upon the mystery of the Divine Mother.[1] To our modern taste the general effect is, as a result, broken and somewhat trivial.

Francesco Pucci ordered the picture for the second altar to the right in San Michele Visdomini.[2] It was famous in its day, and Vasari merely echoes a prevalent opinion when he says: "questa è la più bella tavola che mai facesse questo rarissimo pittore." Even at a much later date it was highly prized and Richa[3] tells us that the Archduchess Maria Maddalena once tried to buy it, but was unable to do so because it is an inalienable part of the Pucci heritage. In the Doetsch Collection,[4] which was dispersed some years ago in London, a copy existed that certain critics believed to be the original.[5] The picture in San Michele is badly lighted and can with difficulty be examined. It would be hazardous to come to a

[1] Vasari, VI, 258.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] VII, 23.
[4] In 1895.
[5] See Catalogue Raisonné under Doetsch Collection and Florence, San Michele Visdomini.

definite conclusion in regard to its authenticity. Among those papers of the Pucci family which are now in the Archives of Florence I have not been able to find the contract. But if we had it, it would perhaps add nothing of an essential nature to our information. The date of the panel is known. On the book which St. John holds are the letters, M. D. xiij.

We possess many drawings[6] for this altar-piece (fig. 14 to 23). With it Berenson has identified thirteen studies, among them our painter's best jotting in pen and ink (Uffizi 6545), and to these I have added eight preliminary sketches,[7] all of which are swift, fresh, and masterful.

Between the St. Francis of the Visdomini and the St. Jerome (reversed) of an unfinished little altar-piece, now in the Uffizi,[8] we detect a distinct resemblance that is made significant by another drawing for the St. Francis (Uffizi 6742 verso),[9] in which the saint is seen standing, and which, not improbably, served for the St. Jerome of the smaller picture. At any rate, the colour, the character of the heads, especially that of the Madonna, the fall of the drapery, and the rhythm of the composition make it certain that the Uffizi panel belongs in date just after the Visdomini picture. From the same year we have a beautiful black-chalk sketch (fig. 24; Uffizi 6729)[10] for another "Madonna and Child," the fate of which is unknown, that must have had the same qualities as the Uffizi picture but greater charm.

From this period, and like the Visdomini panel harking back to Leonardo's chiaroscuro, though in structure, motive, and gesture recalling Andrea, is the "Madonna and Little St. John," now in the possession of the Marchese Farinola. The picture is not mentioned by Vasari, and for it we have no documents.

Between the Visdomini and Poggio, and accordingly for a

[6] *Dessins*, p. 67.

[7] *On Certain Drawings*, pp. 6, 20.

[8] No. 1177.

[9] *Dessins*, p. 271.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 262 f. Possibly a study for the "Madonna" of the "drappelloni" painted in 1519 for the funeral of Bartolomeo Ginori.

period which embraces less than two years, Vasari mentions thirteen pictures — a number so great that it is apparent that here his chronology needs some correction. Two of his errors are easily eliminated. The arms of the Lanfredini,[11] now destroyed, which Jacopo painted over a door on the Lungarno between Ponte Santa Trinita and Ponte alla Carraia, were placed by Bronzino, according to Vasari himself, among the earliest undertakings of Pontormo, and the "St. Quentin," begun by Giovanmaria Pichi for the Osservanti of Borgo San Sepolcro and finished by Jacopo,[12] is obviously so closely related to the Certosa frescoes that it can hardly have been painted earlier than 1522.[13]

The principal works that belong between the summer of 1518 and the autumn of 1519 are three[14] "cassone" pictures[15] of "Scenes from the Life of Joseph," a panel[16] of "Joseph in Egypt" (all executed for Pierfrancesco Borgherini), the "Portrait of Cosimo il Vecchio," of the Uffizi,[17] and the "Portrait of a Youth," now in Genoa.[18] No written document fixes the date of these pictures (fig. 26, 27, 30, 41, 42), but on internal evidence one may be certain that they were executed in 1518-1519. Vasari records[19] that, in the "Joseph in Egypt," Pontormo painted the portrait of the young Bronzino. Angelo, who is represented as about fifteen years of age, was born November 17, 1503.[20] The date of the panel would, then, be 1518.[21] A similar deduction gives us the date of the "Portrait

11 Vasari, pp. 258 f.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Dessins*, p. 203.

14 Berenson (*Florentine Painters*, p. 175) mentions only two of these panels.

15 Now in Panshanger. See Catalogue Raisonné. These small pictures are usually called "cassone" panels, but they may have formed part of a "lettuccio" or settle, or they may have been ornaments of a "spalliera" which would be, in our modern usage, a wainscot.

16 National Gallery, No. 1131; now apparently transferred to canvas.

17 Now in the Uffizi.

18 Palazzo Bianco, No. 6.

19 VI, 261.

20 Registro dei Battezzati di S. Giovanni Battista, 1503, p. 33, line 27.

21 Richter, to whom Bronzino appears here to be but ten years of age, erroneously places this picture in 1512. It is not necessary to point out that such a date would mean

of Cosimo il Vecchio." It was ordered by Goro Gheri while he was secretary to Lorenzino de' Medici, and we know that Lorenzino died on May 4, 1518.

In the composition of the Borgherini panels Jacopo makes a rather self-conscious effort to escape from old formulas by distributing his figures and arranging them in little groups, on planes that are defined by the various parts of an architectural setting. In this there was nothing new. Quattrocento pictures, such as Ghirlandaio's "Adoration of the Magi," as well as numerous mythological subjects by Pier di Cosimo, are similarly composed, and we also find, at precisely this moment, Andrea combining naturalistically a similar kind of grouping with architecture and flights of steps, in his "Scenes from the Life of Joseph," now in the Pitti.[22] But even a cursory comparison satisfies us that the younger artist had the more fantastic spirit. In the Borgherini panels, as in the Visdomini altar-piece, certain figures are in type, structure, and drapery, reminiscent of Andrea. The slender legs, the trailing draperies, the long lines of the folds of other figures, the interrupted rhythm of the composition are of quite another inspiration, as is also the light and delicate colour.

These four little pictures were famous; Vasari places the "Joseph in Egypt" among Jacopo's finest productions.[23] For us too they have a peculiar interest, for they were part of the room decorated and furnished for Borgherini by Andrea, Granacci, Pontormo and other great craftsmen.[24] Pontormo's "Joseph in Egypt" was placed in the corner to the left of the door. His three "Scenes from the Life of Joseph" either

that Pontormo manifested a masterful individuality of style bordering on exaggeration while he was still an apprentice in the "bottega" of Andrea.

[22] Nos. 87 and 88.

[23] VI, 261.

[24] *Idem*, V, 26 f., 342 f.; VI, 261, 455. Pierfrancesco Borgherini married Margherita Acciaiuoli in 1515, but the decoration of their famous room was not finished, it would seem, until several years later. Pontormo's panels cannot have been painted before 1517. Margherita was born in 1495 and was still alive in 1558, in which year Domenicho dedicated to her his "Life of Santa Brigida." For the courageous way in which she denounced Della Palla's attempt to gain possession, during the siege, of the works of art that the room contained, see Vasari, VI, 263.

formed part of two "cassoni," or were framed in the decorative inlaid woodwork of the room, the design and execution of which was Baccio d'Agnolo's.

For the three "cassone" panels (fig. 26, 27 and 30) I have discovered five studies. Of these, Uffizi 6690,[25] a sketch (fig. 29) from the nude for one of the figures on the steps to the left in the "Baker Led out to Execution," is technically near Jacopo's studies from Michelangelo's cartoon for the "Battle of the Cascina," and should be compared with Uffizi 442 (fig. 44) in which there is, however, a greater tension of rhythm. For one of the figures, in the upper left-hand corner of "Joseph Sold to Potiphar," we have a scrawl (fig. 31) of delicious verve,[26] and for another, a brilliant but somewhat unsympathetic drawing (fig. 32), which might have been done by Naldini. Uffizi 6692 (fig. 25) is a sketch for the youth descending the steps on the right of "Joseph Discovering Himself to His Brethren." Its freshness and facility are delightful. Uffizi 6542 verso (fig. 28)[27] prefigures the boy kneeling to the left in the same composition, and in it the structure of the nude recalls Andrea, but the hair is blown out in the way that Leonardo loved. These last two are important drawings that no one would think of ascribing to Andrea, although the panel for which they were drawn is universally held to be by Del Sarto and until recently all three pictures were ascribed to him.[28]

In the grouping of the composition, these "cassone" decorations resemble the "Adoration of the Magi" (fig. 33)[29] painted for Giovanmaria Benintendi,[30] where, however, in his

[25] *Dessins,* p. 236.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 151, where I incorrectly identified this sheet with the saint to the extreme right of the "Visitation" at the Annunziata.

[27] *Ibid.,* p. 142.

[28] *Catalogue of Exhibition of Old Masters in Aid of the National Art-Collections Fund,* October 4-December 28, 1911, p. 50. Crowe and Cavalcaselle saw that they displayed qualities characteristic of Pontormo, *History of Painting,* ed. Borenius, VI, 202. See also an article by Sir Claude Phillips in the *Art Journal,* 1906, p. 1.

[29] Pitti, No. 379.

[30] Andrea di Cosimo, Franciabigio and Bacchiacca worked for Benintendi when he decorated his house (Vasari, V, 196, 209; VI, 455).

use of a dark and rich colour, Pontormo is nearer Andrea than he will ever be again. The figures are broad-faced, prodigiously stout, and wear enormous sleeves. Jacopo was, we may surmise, experimenting with a new form of elegance. Like the Borgherini panels, this picture, which is now in the Pitti, was painted in competition with other masters. Franciabigio's "cassone" panel for Benintendi as well as a companion piece by Bacchiacca, is now in the Dresden Gallery, and in the lower left corner, one finds the date: A. S. MDXXIII. Pontormo's "Adoration" cannot however be later than 1519-1520. For the horses in the background three vigorous drawings (fig. 34) exist[31] that, by their touch, insistently suggest several studies for the lunette at Poggio.

The figures of Pharaoh and his retinue in the foreground and to the left of "Joseph in Egypt" remind one vividly of the St. Michael and the St. John the Evangelist (fig. 35 and 36), which Pontormo painted for the citizens of his native town and which are still in the church of San Michele at Pontormo. Statuesque, and visibly affected by the work done by Andrea between 1515 and 1519, they are nevertheless clearly less naturalistic. The drawings for these figures are of exceptional interest. We have a finished study (fig. 37), in black chalk, for the St. John,[32] which is manifestly more pictorial than such a drawing for the panels at Panshanger as Uffizi 6692. The long, abrupt breaks in the drapery, angular bunches of which are gathered at the hips, as well as the treatment of the hands, recall the Corsini study (fig. 11) for the lost "Santa Cecilia." But not so the studies in red chalk for St. Michael's hands that one finds on the same sheet, which, like the best drawings of Del Sarto, catch thrillingly a momentary pulse of life, and record a moment in which Jacopo sounded the spirit of his master more profoundly perhaps than he ever had or ever would again. His study for the legs of St. Michael (fig. 40), on the contrary, shows a love of elegance, and a whole-hearted preoccupation with the beautiful and the decorative. It suggests some late

[31] *Dessins*, pp. 153 f., 256.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 161.

Greek god, carved in alabaster or ivory, some god, tall and slim beyond measure, but full of the authentic strangeness of rarest things. Conte Gamba finds it reminiscent of the quattrocentist tradition, and its transparent smoothness does, perhaps, recall Rossellino's somewhat over-modelled surfaces, although structurally it is of a fine sophistication that the Quattrocento seldom knew.

In 1519 Pontormo executed certain ephemeral works, since destroyed or lost, among them a series of "drappelloni" for the funeral of Bartolomeo Ginori for which he painted, according to Vasari,[33] a "Madonna and Child" on white taffeta with the arms of the family below on coloured silk. In size and lightness, these pennons were an innovation and set a new standard. In the middle of the series there were two banners, two "braccia" high, on each of which a "St. Bartholomew."

To these years also belong Pontormo's first known portraits, although they can hardly have been his earliest, since we know, for example, that in his "Joseph in Egypt" he had already portrayed the young Bronzino among other figures, many of which seem natural enough to be portraits. The extraordinarily lifelike figure to the extreme left in the Pitti "Adoration," has even been considered to be a likeness of Pontormo himself, although for such a conjecture there is no foundation. The portrait of Giovann' Antonio Lappoli,[34] who came momentarily under Jacopo's instruction[35] just after the "Faith and Charity" of the Servites was finished, as well as the portrait of Becuccio Bicchieraio's son-in-law with a friend,[36] have been lost. But we have some ground, from the sequence of Vasari's narrative, for imagining that they belonged to this period, and were therefore probably not unlike the "Portrait of Cosimo il Vecchio" (fig. 42),[37] the "Portrait of a Youth," at Genoa (fig. 41),[38] or the broad, massive portrait-drawing of

[33] VI, 260. Cf. note 10 and fig. 24.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 260.
[37] Now in the Uffizi. Cf. Vasari, VI, 264.
[38] Palazzo Bianco, No. 6.

a youth, alert and conscious, in ample robes, now in the Uffizi (fig. 38; No. 452), all of which are excellent examples of Pontormo's early manner in portraiture.

As a young man Pontormo worked hard, and how creative his spirit was, how disciplined his hand! These were perhaps his happiest years. He was popular, and from all sides orders came to him, which he met with a power and a versatility that made him the most conspicuous and promising painter of the younger generation, and gave him, though he was but five-and-twenty, an eminent place among the ablest craftsmen then at work in Florence.

Between 1512 and 1519 his manner had undergone numerous changes of unusual interest, through which we have been able to follow the drift of his unquiet spirit. The conception of form that he had inherited from Albertinelli and Pier di Cosimo mingled, not without hesitations, with the realism that he had caught from the sturdiest draughtsman Florence ever had. Now and then, as he developed, he found Leonardo's types attractive, but most of all, and increasingly, Michelangelo's art moved him to a profounder study of the problem of decorative and yet convincing form.

The first decade of Pontormo's career gives us a sense of the forces that outlined his creative individuality, and although most of the pictures of that period are important rather as documents than as works of art, one divines in them, nevertheless, a constant preoccupation. Jacopo had that rarest of gifts, the decorative instinct. Not, then, as an eclectic, or as an imitator, did he pass consecutively, and sometimes even simultaneously, through the various traditions that Florence kept alive. Through all these superficial changes he was struggling to formulate his vision, for he wanted to treat form, not merely with mysterious science like Leonardo, not simply with conventionality like Albertinelli, not even with convincing naturalistic prosiness like Andrea, but for its own sake, joyously, lightly, and decoratively. To spread, as it were, a feast of problems solved with a magnificent, fine facility for the pure distraction of our pictorial sense — that was his apparent aim. But, as a

youth, he had been commissioned to paint sacred subjects, and these hardly gave his talent for decoration a sufficient outlet, chiefly because the effort to establish a new canon for the favorite themes of religious painting needed a forceful self-confidence that Jacopo did not have. To express himself freely, moreover, he seems to have required an equilibrium between his vision and his environment more delicately adjusted than any he had found so far. In 1520 such an equilibrium was established when, given a fine task and a free hand, he painted one of the greatest mural paintings of the Renaissance, the lunette in the Great Hall of the Medicean villa at Poggio a Cajano.

CHAPTER IV

1520-1522

No documents exist for the lunette at Poggio. Only a careful scrutiny of several circumstances will enable us to conjecture the date at which it was begun. The decision to undertake the decoration of the Great Hall came from Leo X.[1] It was to be a tribute to the memory of his father, and he made Ottaviano de' Medici general director of the work.[2] We imagine that this enterprise was intended by the Pope to serve also as a token of his desire that Lorenzino settle down in Florence and not in Rome, and that it could hardly have received serious attention until Lorenzino returned to Florence, on September 7, 1518,[3] with his bride, Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne. Six months later Lorenzino died (May 4, 1518),[4] and it is but reasonable to suppose that his death may have somewhat delayed the preliminary arrangements. The painters could, as a result, hardly have begun work before the early spring of 1519. Franciabigio and Andrea di Cosimo were then commissioned to gild the ceiling, but, even when finally undertaken, the work progressed slowly.

Besides Pontormo, Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio[5] were engaged, and to them the side-walls were entrusted, while to Pontormo were given the end-walls, the upper part of each of which is a lunette. His whole task, therefore, was to include two lunettes and two large frescoes,[6] and as the lunettes were

[1] Vasari, V, 195; VI, 265.

[2] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 264.

[3] Anonymous continuator of Landucci, p. 365. Letter of Cardinal Giulio to Antonio Pucci, August 3, 1518, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti Torrigiani*, p. 271.

[4] Cambi, XXII, pp. 144 f. Nerli, VI, p. 132. Ammirato, XXIX, p. 335.

[5] Vasari, V, pp. 35, 195. The painters were paid thirty "scudi" a month (V, 196).

[6] *Ibid.*, VI, 264.

the more difficult part of the undertaking, it was on one (fig. 50, 51 and 52) of them that Jacopo began work. Paolo Giovio, bishop of Nocera, chose the subject,[7] "Pomona and Vertumnus," having in mind, it would seem, one of the less well-known passages[8] of the "Metamorphoses." With a simple lunette (fig. 11) Pontormo had already dealt, once with great charm[9] in the "Santa Cecilia," once with mastery in a drawing for a lost "Pietà" (fig. 39; Uffizi 300F),[10] and he attacked the new and greater problem of a lunette pierced by a bull's-eye with the greatest earnestness, devoting to his preparation much time and thought, feverishly undoing today the work of yesterday—"sempre facendo nuovi trovati."[11]

At the same time, ideas apparently came to him for all four decorations, for I cannot but think that in many drawings of passionate force, of sparkling rhythm, or of wistful tranquillity, which are manifestly of this period, but in no way related to the lunette, we have first thoughts for one of the other projected but unexecuted frescoes. What the subjects of these compositions were to have been we do not know, and it is possible that he only made tentative plans for them, for in the time that he took to paint the first lunette, Franciabigio finished only one fresco,[12] while Andrea's "Tribute to Cæsar" was left but half painted[13] when the death of Leo (December 1, 1521) interrupted the undertaking,[14] and all work upon the Great Hall was suspended. During the brief reign of Hadrian VI, the position of the Medici was precarious, and it was evidently not a moment when they would have spent much on what the Italians call "muraglia."

[7] *Ibid.*, V, 195.

[8] Ovid, Met., xiv, 623-697.

[9] *Dessins*, p. 333.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[11] Vasari, VI, 264 f.

[12] *Ibid.*, V, 195.

[13] *Ibid.*, 36. Finished by Alessandro Allori. On a "cartella" one reads: "Anno Domini 1521 Andreas Sartius pingebat, et Anno Domini 1580 Alexander Allorius sequebatur." Andrea was very busy during these years. The "Tabernacle of Porta Pinti" was finished in 1520. Cf. Vasari, V, 33.

[14] *Ibid.*, VI, 264 f.

Many drawings relative to Poggio survive. We can follow with comparative ease the steps by which Pontormo advanced from a general idea of the composition to its final form. The earliest sheet (fig. 53) we possess is perhaps Uffizi 6660 verso,[15] on which the lunette is mapped out and the pose of several figures indicated, and on which the medallion under the bull's-eye, the two "putti" over it, the high wall and the laurel branches also appear. Pontormo, however, had not decided what figures he would use, nor yet made clear to himself, where he was to place them. He seems, it is true, to have contemplated an arrangement that involved two figures with their backs to the lower part of the bull's-eye, one seated, one half reclining and, to the right of the right-hand figure, a simple rustic gaine. So his mind played around the Goddess of Gardens and her setting.

His next idea for the whole composition is Uffizi 6742 verso. On this sheet, drawn over a preliminary sketch for the St. Francis of the Visdomini, we can trace outlines of the lunette, the lower wall, and four seated figures. The peasant-like figure of Vertumnus to the extreme left, the figure to his right, the reclining woman who looks over her left shoulder, occur here, practically as we find them in the finished work. This sheet is also a curious link between Poggio and the lunette of "Santa Cecilia," for to the extreme right one descries a woman crouching in a pose which repeats that of the latter figure.

We can also follow in some cases the genesis of individual figures, and in Pontormo's second mapping-out of the whole lunette (Uffizi 6742 verso) we find, for example, his first idea for the woman to the left on the lower right wall. For the same figure a study from the nude survives. It was made, however, before the width of the lower parapet had been determined. In this sketch (fig. 54; Uffizi 6557), which is strikingly modern in pose and treatment, the figure lies flatter than it does in the fresco. The final study (fig. 55; Uffizi 6673),

[15] A detailed discussion of each of these drawings will be found in my *Dessins.*

the gracile charm of which recalls Fragonard, is except for the fall of the drapery identical with the finished work.

With even greater precision, we can follow the evolution of the figure to the extreme right on the lower wall. For it our earliest idea is a study from the male nude (fig. 56; Uffizi 6514) which, apart from its rare plasticity and its beautiful lightness of touch, is of unusual interest because it shows that Pontormo at first thought of making the lower parapet twice as high as it is in the fresco. In Uffizi 6515 verso (fig. 57), we find the final pose of this figure sketched from life, the model a young artisan, the movement delightfully indicated. Last in this series we have Uffizi 6673 verso (fig. 58), which but for the drapery is close to the figure in the decoration. In spirit, however, it is different, for in the sketch the beautiful peasant girl of the fresco is transfigured by a touch of the superhuman. Clearly this drawing owes indirectly something of its great, indwelling life to Michelangelo in spite of the fact that the draughtsmanship is devoid of any semblance of his manner. The case is otherwise with two extraordinary sketches (fig. 59 and 60) for the pose of this figure (Uffizi 6544 and 6555). These represent gigantic male nudes, and they cannot be placed later than 1521. Yet I know of no drawing by Michelangelo, earlier than 1528, in which the contour and modelling are rendered as Pontormo renders them here. Are we to believe, as Berenson suggests, that in these studies Pontormo, with marvellous versatility, outstripped for a moment Michelangelo himself?

Uffizi 6437 verso is a study of drapery that falls from the knees of a seated female figure; the legs are bent back at the knees, and the feet rest on a wall upon which she had just climbed. This was Jacopo's first idea for the rustic goddess to the extreme right of the upper parapet, but with it he seems to have been dissatisfied. For on the recto of this sheet we find that he made another study of drapery that hangs from the waist of the same figure, seated this time, facing left astride of a wall, and wearing a skirt that sweeps down the left leg and is caught up, at the knees, by the parapet. This pose also

had its difficulties — an awkward bundling-up of drapery before and behind the figure. It interested Pontormo, however, and for it he made one more sketch, a fine, small study (fig. 54) from the nude (Uffizi 6557) that, without the help of 6437 recto, we would never have thought of identifying with any figure in the fresco. Uffizi 6519 verso is a little sketch for part of the same drapery, the final form of the lower part of which, identical in touch with the fragment just mentioned, is found in Uffizi 6731 recto (fig. 61). In Uffizi 6632 recto, the pose of the torso is suggested. This is followed by a curious series of trial poses. The male nude, studied in Uffizi 6662 verso (fig. 62), is seated as in the fresco but the position of the legs and arms is reversed. Technically this drawing, like Uffizi 6544 and 6555, is Michelangelesque, though less noticeably so. Corsini 124243 verso, a sketch of great spontaneity, is probably Jacopo's first thought for the pose finally chosen. Uffizi 6728 gives the outline of the right leg precisely as in the fresco; Uffizi 6531 (fig. 63) and 6530 are finished studies for the whole figure, draped as in the painting, and Uffizi 6547 (fig. 64), is a rare but ruined study for the head, enigmatical, enchantingly felt, dainty and free.

Several drawings survive for the child to the left of this figure, one of the earliest of which is Uffizi 8976 verso, and although it is far from the final pose, we can also unreservedly identify Uffizi 6646 (fig. 65), on which one sees, to the left, the curve of the bull's-eye, as a first thought for the same infant. Uffizi 6728 verso is a sketch for the left leg. The recto of Uffizi 8976 may represent another conception of the figure, drawn while Pontormo still thought of making his fresco, not a summer holiday of the rustic gods, but a pastoral "concerto." For the composition of this proposed "concerto," Uffizi 455 (fig. 74) is a finished study where, however, our figure does not occur. It is among certain drawings that preserve early tentative poses of this figure that we find two of Pontormo's rarest sketches (fig. 67 and 68; Uffizi 6669 recto and verso). These drawings, so perfect in structure and yet so prompt, so transfused with the quickness of lyric beauty, attain to a quality

that we should look for in vain in the work of Del Sarto. In them Jacopo achieves a spontaneous registry of vision, a transcript of the essential, not less magical than Leonardo's own. The only other sketch we have for a figure on this side of the lunette is Corsini 124240, a spirited jotting for the "putto" over the bull's-eye.

For the left half of the lunette, less copious material has come down to us. The final pose of the youth to the extreme left, on the upper wall, appears in no study that is known to me, although the germinal idea is undoubtedly a tiny sketch on Uffizi 6515 where, however, the movement of the left arm and of the legs is different. Uffizi 6634 may also be a first thought for this figure, the pose still far from that which one sees in the fresco and which obviously owes something to the "Jonah" of the Sixtine. On Uffizi 6661 (fig. 66) there is a vibrant sketch for the "putto," to the left, above the bull's-eye.

The child to the right of the youth that we have just discussed has come down to us in the final study (fig. 69; Uffizi 6651) from which the figure was transferred to the wall. It is exquisitely lovely, of liquid tonality, the movement seized with masterly definition. The soft but vivacious modelling gives one a sense of fine silver bronze, and beautiful as this figure is in the fresco, it has surely lost some of its own original, delicate vitality.

We cannot trace the loosely dressed youth, seated to the right on the lower wall, in any known drawing unless, as is doubtful, Uffizi 6618 preserves an earlier conception of the figure. For the left arm, however, as it appears in the fresco, we have a decisive study (fig. 70; Uffizi 6559), while on Uffizi 6515 one finds what is seemingly a sketch for the knees in a slightly different pose, and a study of the left foot in the pose finally chosen.

The old peasant-like Vertumnus, to the extreme left, is traceable in a number of studies. As we have already noted, the idea of placing a squatting figure in this corner of the fresco occurred to Pontormo early in his work of preparation, and one descries such a pose in the first draft of the lower part of

the fresco (Uffizi 6742 verso). In the beginning, Jacopo seems to have intended that this figure should shade his eyes with his right hand—a motive which first appears in a scrawl on Uffizi 6599 recto, and which is studied again from the nude in three splendid sheets, Uffizi 6515, spirited and immediate, 6685 recto (fig. 71), ringing and solid, 6599 recto, somewhat arbitrary in its proportions but of great indwelling energy. For the old god's head, precisely as it appears in the fresco, Uffizi 6579 (fig. 72) is a fine study, obviously from the life and admirable in its incisive severity.

Two puzzling designs for the whole lunette remain to be considered (fig. 73 and 74; Uffizi 454 and 455), both of which recall the fresco without being definite studies for it. In the former, there are three figures on either side; around the bull's-eye is wound a strong young sapling of which each figure holds a branch, and which without their efforts would straighten out and spring away. This motive is apparently symbolic of Pomona's beneficent guardianship of gardens and their trees, and yet a more felicitous and fitting solution of the mere problem created by the shape of the space to be frescoed could hardly be imagined; no figure is otiose, and no gesture meaningless. Pontormo's insight into the secrets of Michelangelo's art could with difficulty be more admirably illustrated than by the fine ease with which he gives here a real function to every figure; his feeling for the fundamentally significant in composition finds nowhere more creative expression.

Is our drawing a rejected study for the existing lunette at Poggio, or is it a project for the second lunette of the Great Hall, for which Jacopo received a new commission in 1532, but which he never executed? The swollen contours and the close packing of the figures into the space prescribed convince Berenson that our design was drawn in 1531-1532. I believe, on the contrary, that the exaggerated contours, the rather puffy modelling, can more easily be explained by the fact that the drawing is in pen and bistre—a medium for which Pontormo shows nowhere either aptitude or predilection. Moreover, it will be noticed that this splendid design contains one figure

closely related to the Pomona of the finished fresco; and so striking a relation must have its own especial significance. In a second lunette, in the same Hall, Jacopo would hardly have repeated a conspicuous figure. But, if our drawing is really a project for the first lunette, one wonders at first sight how Pontormo, who must have realized its unusual beauty, could ever have abandoned it. He had, I think, no choice; it was the great size of the lunette at Poggio that forced him to lay it aside as impracticable, for the figures of the drawing expanded to the scale of the surface to be decorated would have been enormous, larger even than the clumsy giants painted by Alessandro Allori, in 1580, at the other end of the Hall.

Our other study for the whole lunette is also in pen and bistre. Here too the motive of the bent sapling is used, but it is held by only two figures, both on the same side of the bull's-eye. This design must have been drawn just after the former, and it shows, as we have seen, that for a time Pontormo thought of painting, not a rustic holiday as an interpretation of his theme, but a pastoral "concerto." Many drawings[16] exist that are not for any figure of the surviving lunette at Poggio but that date from the same period. Among these we find a powerfully realized study (fig. 76; Uffizi 6597) for a "Young Baptist in the Wilderness," the preliminary sketch for which (Uffizi 6645 recto) represents one of Pontormo's most inspired moments; an intense and enigmatic composition of three nudes, preserved in the Städel Institute, at Frankfort (fig. 77); a curious sketch of a melancholy and meditative youth wrapped in a great mantle (fig. 49; Uffizi 6682). The latter, like many other studies that date from these years — notably the swift and energetic drawing, Uffizi 6727 recto (fig. 75) — represents a figure seated upon a high, stepped block. These, and the flamelike study (fig. 78; Uffizi 6677 verso) of three nudes, one of which stretches out a hand with the gesture of the "Adam" of the Sixtine, help us to measure the nature and extent of Michelangelo's influence upon Jacopo between 1519 and 1521. Either Pontormo had seen the Sixtine ceiling itself, or he had

[16] Fig. 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 75, 76, 77, 78.

studied many sketches made by Michelangelo in preparation for it that have since been lost. Apart from the drawings of seated figures, which I have just mentioned, the earliest sheet that we have for Poggio (fig. 53; Uffizi 6660 verso) contains three studies of interlaced "putti" that are unmistakably derived from the Sixtine vault, although the pose differs from that of any "putti" now to be seen there. More important still, in this connection, is the right-hand figure of Uffizi 6660 recto, a sketch that distinctly recalls the figure in the space to the right of and above Michelangelo's "Zerubbabel," and that represents, I believe, Pontormo's first idea for one of the "putti" above the bull's-eye. The slope on which the figure leans excludes all other explanation. This sheet furnishes the most direct evidence we have that the Sixtine ceiling was present to our master's mind when he was planning his "Pomona and Vertumnus," at Poggio.

On the other hand, the lunette, in its final form, owes little to Michelangelo. Its sunny airiness, its autumnal festivity, the gay dignity, the unity and charming novelty of the composition, are all Pontormo's own, and in it his fine instinct for the decorative expresses itself with a gracious fitness, a perennial youthfulness, a quiet, delicate joyfulness, without parallel in any other Italian work of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER V

1522-1527

In the fresco at Poggio, one phase of Pontormo's talent attains its fulfilment and, upon so great an achievement, another painter would have formed a permanent manner. To a less imaginative temperament nothing would have been easier; he had been so successful that many must have considered him to be the most prominent painter of the younger generation. Great things had been expected of him; he had accomplished great things. But to Jacopo's unworldly mind, success meant little, and when he had conquered one problem, he immediately and ardently undertook the solution of another. Some of his contemporaries felt, nevertheless, that his mobility of spirit was mere capriciousness, and here and there, in Vasari, we come upon echoes of their opinion. They failed to understand that his changeableness was partly due to external causes, the nature of which they did not realize. Five years earlier, Pontormo had been too exclusively absorbed in his art to notice or care what social or artistic revolutions were undermining Florentine life, but now his delicately balanced nature could hardly have failed to react to the great changes that were taking place around him. The Medici had passed through troubled waters, but as the political tide had turned so also was turning the current of Florentine tradition, and the great, fresh stream of Tuscan art, once fed and kept pure by so many springs, was now irrevocably flowing toward a despotism as absurdly cruel as that which was to submerge Florence itself. The era of the "Michelangeleschi" had begun.

In his effort to free himself from the limitations imposed upon him by Andrea's unimaginative naturalism, Pontormo had sought the stimulus of Michelangelo's early work, and

by that contact, his own style had become more distinctly personal, even though the deep study that he made, during his formative years, of the cartoon of the "Battle of the Cascina" had profoundly modified his ideal of form. Now, however, he was confronted with the inexorable fascination of Michelangelo's maturer manner, that imperious manner which had already begun to obsess all Florentines. And under such circumstances it was inevitable that the magnetism of the older master's superabundant creativeness, the tremendous emphasis of his vitality, and his turbulent mastery of material, should cross Pontormo's own ideals with lingering insistence, and warp the instinctive nature of his rare, unconscious, personal vision. Had he appreciated his own possibilities, had the Florentine public remained open-minded to various kinds of artistic achievement, he might have given to the world other works as decorative and as appropriate as the lunette at Poggio or as the "Deposition" at Santa Felicita.

But the moment was unpropitious, and Jacopo's very power had its roots in his extreme sensibility. Still he was not without intellectual courage, and he made a supreme effort to avoid the trap into which all his fellow-painters were falling. Suddenly we are witnesses of the curious spectacle of an Italian painter of great attainments seeking to escape from the tyranny of Michelangelo's canon of form by flying to that of Dürer.[1] This choice, the strangest that an Italian ever made, was for Jacopo the craving of an instinct, and quite apart from his strangely modern susceptibility to novelty, he was, we may believe, swayed by an intimate compulsion, for there was in Dürer's designs an intense metaphysical quality that Pontormo was born to understand. A curious evidence of how well he understood, of how far he succeeded in seeing the world with northern eyes, while the rhythms of the great Florentine were still beating in his memory, is furnished by such a sheet as Uffizi 6702 verso.[2] For a moment, he had a divided mind. But

[1] Vasari's account of the diffusion of Dürer's woodcuts in Italy (V, 22, 405; VI, 266) is full of errors, especially in his "Life of Marcantonio."

[2] *Dessins*, pp. 246-248.

he was an absolutist and at cross-roads he never lingered. In the Scalzo frescoes Andrea had been content to eke out his unimaginativeness with fragments taken from Dürer's inventions.[3] Jacopo, on the contrary, after he had studied Dürer's art, felt impelled to revolutionize, as thoroughly as possible, his theories of form, contour and composition. And were the drawings that survive for the frescoes at the Certosa more numerous, we might, perhaps, be able to demonstrate that for a time Pontormo attempted to draw with the awkward stress and jerky pulse of an early Dürer woodcut.[4] A sketch we find on Uffizi 6648,[5] furnishes us with a reasonable basis for such an assumption.

Vasari tells us that Pontormo began the Certosa frescoes in 1522, and he had reason to know, for in 1524 he had spent much time in copying them.[6] In the books of the monastery I have discovered a complete record[7] of the payments that were made to Pontormo for this work. In the Quaderno di Cassa F,[8] under the date May 26, 1524, we read: "A m^ro^ Jacopo di b*ar*tholomeo dapontormo depintore Duc*ati* trenta L dua hebe dal p*ro*curatore in 9 volte p*er* parte da di 4 di Febraio 1522 p*er* insine adi 10 dap*ri*lle 1524 supra ala depintura fa nel claustro." This is the first entry and may, accordingly, be taken as convincing proof that, on February 4, 1522, Pontormo was already at work in the cloister.

In Vasari's opinion[9] it was the return of the plague to Florence in 1522 that caused Pontormo to leave the city. But he is careful to add that Jacopo, being by nature lonely and meditative, loved the life of the Certosa for its own sake — the silence and the solitude, in the sheltering peace of which he

[3] In the "Preaching of St. John," the man standing to the right and the woman seated holding an infant. Cf. Vasari, V, 22; VI, 266.

[4] The fact that Italian collectors did not like Pontormo's "maniera tedesca" may explain the almost total disappearance of the drawings that he must have made during this period.

[5] *Dessins*, p. 204.

[6] Vasari, VII, 605.

[7] A. S. F., Convento 51, Nos. 16, 40 and 81. See Appendix II, Doc. 14, 15 and 16.

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 40, p. 26 r.

[9] VI, 266.

hoped to accomplish great and novel things in art. Even after the frescoes were finished and he had returned to the city, he never ceased, Vasari says,[10] to frequent San Lorenzo a Galuzzo, and of that assertion Pontormo's own diary contains a curious confirmation. On October 11, 1556,[11] less than two months before he died, he wrote: "domenica andai acertosa."

In the cloister of the monastery five frescoes survive although in a ruinous state: "The Agony in the Garden," "Christ before Pilate" (fig. 79), "The Way to Golgotha" (fig. 80), a "Pietà," and "The Risen Christ" (fig. 81). According to Vasari,[12] Jacopo intended to add a "Crucifixion" and a "Deposition," and from a drawing (fig. 85) that I have identified[13] with his work at the Certosa, we know that he also meant to paint a "Nailing to the Cross."

The difference in style between Poggio and the Certosa is great. Vasari thought that no one could distinguish the "Christ before Pilate" from the work of an ultramontane painter.[14] Such a statement is, of course, an exaggeration, and closer study reveals that Pontormo merely borrowed from Dürer,[15] sometimes actually copying them, certain peculiarities of dress, attitude, or contour, and the ragged silhouette and jumbled lineal rhythms of the composition. The draperies, much as Pontormo may have tried to change them, are still Florentine, and the touch, the modelling, and the types, quite Italian. Vasari himself must have noticed Pontormo's vacillation between northern and southern ideals, for he remarks that, though the most successful fresco, "The Way to Golgotha," shows throughout Pontormo's imitation of Dürer, the cupbearer of Pilate in the "Christ before Pilate" still retains a certain something of Jacopo's earlier manner.[16]

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[11] For the text of the Diary, see Appendix III.

[12] VI, 269.

[13] *Dessins*, p. 222.

[14] VI, 267.

[15] For the figures that Pontormo borrowed from Dürer, see the Catalogue Raisonné under Certosa.

[16] VI, 268.

The frescoes have been restored, but from the still undamaged small copies by Jacopo da Empoli,[17] it is evident that the colouring was close to Poggio and owed its vivacity to light harmonies on a few tones that were carried through the whole composition. Undoubtedly they were decorative; even now, although ruined and repainted, they sing out in the sunshine as few frescoes later than the Trecento do. They have a soft vivacity, an unforced gravity, that no transalpine work could have.

Besides the "Passion" of the great cloister, Jacopo painted for the Certosini[18] a "Supper at Emmaus" (fig. 82), which was hung in the Foresteria, and which is now in the Academy at Florence.[19] Milanesi and others give 1528[20] as the date of this picture but, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[21] 1525 is the date which is inscribed on the "cartella." We have also a payment made on June 4, 1525,[22] for the colours and the frame — "*per* fare lo cenaculo dela despensa." In this picture, the influence of Dürer is confined to the composition, which is derived from the engraving of "Christus und die Jünger von Emmaus" that was issued between 1505 and 1511. The canvas is, otherwise, of a naturalism almost too naïve.

In addition to the "Supper at Emmaus," Vasari[23] speaks of a "Nativity," painted for the prior's room, and apparently now lost, in which the St. Joseph held a lighted lantern. Pontormo also executed for the monastery a bust portrait of a lay-brother who was 120 years old. This fresco, which no longer exists, was once on the right side of the altar of San Benedetto. Vasari[24] praises it highly, finding it of an excellence that went far towards excusing the extravagance of manner that marred, in his estimation, Jacopo's other works at the Certosa.

17 Now in the Ufficio delle Belle Arti in the Palazzo Vecchio.
18 Vasari, VI, 270.
19 No. 190.
20 Vasari, VI, 270, note 1. Berenson, *Florentine Painters*, p. 175.
21 *On Certain Drawings*, p. 12.
22 A. S. F., Convento 51, No. 16, p. 30 r. See Appendix II, Doc. 15.
23 VI, 269.
24 *Ibid.*

Most of the drawings[25] for his work at the Certosa have perished, but among the few that survive there are several of an exceptional interest. One of them (Uffizi 6702), to which we have already referred, shows that Michelangelo's canon of form still haunted Pontormo even while he was imitating Dürer. On it we find a sketch of a figure, unquestionably derived from a drawing for the "Haman" of the Sixtine, which Jacopo perhaps thought of using for his "Risen Christ." When, however, he came to paint that fresco he followed Dürer closely in type and in composition. The same sheet also preserves for us a light sketch for the woman seated to the extreme right in the "Pietà" — a figure that has no antecedents in Dürer. Lastly, this leaf contains a first thought for the Christ of the latter fresco in which the pose recalls the Christ of Dürer's "Beweinung Christi" of the "Kleine Passion." In all these studies the quality of the line is somewhat relaxed and thin. Another drawing (Uffizi 6674), unfortunately now quite ruined, gives us the Christ in a pose nearer that which was finally chosen. Uffizi 6643 verso appears to be a study from the nude for the awkward figure that carries the end of the cross in the "Way to Golgotha." On Uffizi 6558, which is chiefly devoted to a nude obviously of the Poggio period, we also find two draped heads that belong to the period that we are now discussing. A similarly draped head appears on Uffizi 6539. These are, in all likelihood, studies for the women of the "Pietà." Another sketch of the same sort, Corsini 124242, is certainly for the figure high up to the left in the same fresco. A study of drapery for a seated figure, preserved in Uffizi 6648, may very well have been drawn for the young disciple behind Peter in the "Agony in the Garden." Much of this fresco, however, is so ruined that identifications are hazardous. Berenson assigns this sketch to Certosa on morphological grounds, and it is the only sheet from this epoch of change that he mentions.

For the monk to the right, in the "Supper at Emmaus," we have, in Uffizi 6656 verso (fig. 84), a fine study from which

[25] In my *Dessins* these drawings are discussed in detail.

we can draw definite conclusions about the quality of Pontormo's draughtsmanship after what was considered by his contemporaries mere capricious imitation of an inferior style. The figure is in red chalk, simple, adequate and of an unaffected lucidity of vision.

The most interesting drawing (fig. 83; Uffizi 6622) that we now have related to the frescoes in the Val d'Ema is an elaboration of the "Kreuzabnahme" that Dürer engraved between 1509 and 1511. The arched form, the proportions, and the space left in the lower corner for the top of a rounded door, make its identification easy. It is a study for the "Deposition" that, as Vasari records, Pontormo was to have painted in the great cloister, and which was never executed. Technically our sketch is of a flower-like delicacy that is altogether lovely.

With his contemporaries Jacopo's work at the Certosa was not popular. Vasari, to be sure, devotes five pages to this undertaking. Nevertheless, we read between the lines that Jacopo's friends found it an aberration, and it is not surprising that his restless spirit soon passed on to other aims. In one of the last drawings (fig. 85; Uffizi 6671) that he made at the Certosa, a study for a "Nailing to the Cross," he is evidently already making his way towards a new understanding of art. Here, and in no uncertain manner, is the dispersed composition, the crowded arrangement of figures, that was dear to the late cinquecentist and that, with the cult of the gigantic and the forceful, finally smothered the last embers of Florentine art. Pontormo saw that, in Florence, painting could only develop in one direction, and in this design he had premonitions of ideals that were not completely evolved by the Florentine School until twenty years later. Even more interesting, however, is the fact that the studies (fig. 86 and 89) we possess for individual figures of this composition (Uffizi 6652 verso and 6657; Corsini 124161) have still a breezy spring, a solidity that recalls Poggio, and a wirelike quality of line that anticipates various sketches for Santa Felicita.

Vasari[26] says that Pontormo had with him at the monastery

[26] VI, 270; VII, 594.

no one but the young Bronzino and he implies that Pontormo executed practically with his own hands the entire cloister "Passion." In any case we know not only that the books of the Certosa contain no payment made to any assistant other than Bronzino but that Jacopo spent four years in the Val d'Ema,[27] which was more than time enough to have painted, without help of any kind, all five existing frescoes. If in their present state these defy any attempt to define in them differences of touch, we can at least be sure that the "Supper at Emmaus" shows no trace of a second hand. Pontormo had an instinctive dislike of collaborators; often he would not even let his work be seen before it was finished.[28] He had, in fact, so little patience with mediocrity that, far from allowing his pupils to finish his pictures, he sometimes could not resist the temptation to transfigure their work with last touches of his own. This he did, according to Vasari, when Lappoli once tried, with a mirror, to paint his own portrait with results that were miserable enough until Pontormo took the brush out of his pupil's hand and transformed the nondescript likeness into a masterpiece. While he was at work in the Val d'Ema, Jacopo also so completely rehandled a "St. Quentin" (fig. 90), which had been begun by Giovanmaria Pichi,[29] that the canvas now retains hardly a trace of other than the master's touch. For it we have a wonderful head,[30] in pen and bistre, drawn on a black-chalk ground (fig. 91) that Pontormo seems to have dashed off to illustrate for his pupil a problem of pose.

Between the autumn of 1525 and the winter of 1527 Jacopo returned to Florence, although he continued to occupy himself, from time to time, at the monastery. An entry in the Quaderno di Cassa of the monks, on December 6, 1526, for flour and chickens sent to him to Florence, would seem to fortify our conjecture.[31]

Soon after he had finished the Passion frescoes, Pontormo

27 See in Appendix II, the documents cited above.
28 Vasari, VI, 271.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 259.
30 *Dessins*, p. 203.
31 A. S. F., Convento 51, No. 40, p. 108. See Appendix II, Doc. 15.

painted, on the walls of a large way-side shrine at the cross-roads of Boldrone, a Christ crucified, Mary, St. John the Baptist, St. Julian, and St. Augustine in episcopal robes — a work which, in Vasari's opinion,[32] is not unlike the "Passion" of the Certosa. The Mary, the St. John, and the St. Julian do recall various figures in the "Christ before Pilate" and in the "Pietà," but the ingenuous simplicity of the composition — due doubtless to the shape of the shrine itself — bears no relation to his work in the Val d'Ema. For the fresco at Boldrone no document exists, but considerations of style and circumstance make the date of it practically certain. It cannot have been painted earlier than 1525 nor later than the summer of 1529, in the autumn of which year Florence was invested by the Imperial troops and the country-side was no longer safe.[33]

Pontormo's imitation of Dürer interrupted, in some measure, the natural evolution of his talent. Nevertheless, it was a surface distortion, which did not modify the fundamental groundwork of his art. His exploration of northern formulas had been too consciously intellectual ever to pass into his larger heritage as a Florentine, and Dürer's art, once it had ceased to interest Jacopo, left no lasting mark upon his later manner. Even before he had completely freed himself from its influence, Pontormo's genius was such that he could still express himself with a marvellous freedom and add the "Deposition" of the Capponi Chapel (fig. 92) to the masterpieces of Italian art. Of that difficult subject this altar-piece is, perhaps, our rarest rendering, as it is, without doubt, Jacopo's highest achievement in religious painting. In it, as in the lunette at Poggio, he subordinates everything to a fine, calculated, decorative effect in a way that was unique in an age of naturalism and the final triumph of representation.

The pale golden colour, enveloped and yet left singing, is as delicately adequate and soothing as the forms are, in a real sense of the term, ethereal, and as the composition, with its strange, torn, gyrating rhythm, its complex cycles of movement,

[32] VI, 272.

[33] Nerli, IX, 202 f.

is elusively beautiful. The sense of amber dawn-light playing on lovely, elemental beings is stronger here than the sense of death. Among these divinities of lithe limbs and curliest blond hair, grief and passion are unreal, for death has been among them for the first time, and in amazement rather than in tears, they carry to the grave their fairest youth, who lies as if asleep upon their shoulders, with no indignity done to his beauty, a tress upon his neck and the first down on his chin. His young mother seated by the roadside reaches out her hand, uncomprehending. On all the faces a look, more of incredulity than of despair, appeals to us to explain so strange and sudden a catastrophe.

The "Deposition" represents but part of the work done by Pontormo at Santa Felicita.[34] He frescoed the entire Capponi Chapel, painting on the side-wall to the right, an "Annunciation"; in a "tondo," on each pendentive of the vaulting, a bust figure of an Evangelist; and in the cupola itself, "God the Father and Four Patriarchs." The general effect of the decoration is not perfectly harmonious, and even Vasari[35] noticed a certain difference in style, colour, and composition, between the "Deposition" and the figures of the vaulting. The "Evangelists" are, in fact, dull in tone, and the "Annunciation" is more in harmony with them than with the altar-piece. We cannot, however, tell what the original effect was, for the "Annunciation" has lost in successive repaintings all its distinctive quality, and the figures of the cupola have been destroyed.[36]

In all these pictures the influence of Dürer is slight. No one who has not seen Jacopo's work at the Certosa would ever think of associating the "Kleine Passion" with the "Deposition," still less with the "Annunciation" or the "Evangelists" of Santa Felicita. Vasari[37] himself felt that in them Jacopo had again become a Florentine: "parve quasi che fusse tornato alla

[34] Vasari, VI, 271 f.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] In 1766 when the organ-loft was rebuilt.

[37] VI, 271.

sua maniera di prima." Nevertheless, a certain lingering influence of Dürer's engravings may be traced in the rather tight, complicated folds and torn, cascading effect of the draperies in the "Deposition."

We do not know the exact date at which Pontormo was commissioned to decorate this chapel. The books of the monastery of Santa Felicita are silent, and none of the Capponi papers[38] that are now in the Florentine Archives mention the undertaking. Vasari speaks of it as begun "non molto dopo la Certosa," and Balocchi, who probably had access to some document now lost, states[39] that Lodovico di Gino di Lodovico Capponi acquired the chapel in 1525 for two hundred "scudi." In a Libro di Ricordanze[40] of the monastery one gleans the fact that the chapel was rented, in January, 1490, by the Barbadori to Antonio di Bernardo Paghanelli, in the margin of which entry one reads: "Compero il d*etto* Antonio la d*etta* capp*ella* da Barbadori e da Bernardo suo figlio fu venduta a Ludovico Capponi p*er* scudi 200." This note can hardly have been written later than 1528, and we will not go far wrong, then, if we suppose that Jacopo began the work late in the autumn of 1526. He put up a scaffolding and, according to Vasari,[41] kept the chapel closed for three years. This, however, does not imply that Pontormo undertook, during all that time, no other commissions.

The preparatory work for these decorations may be followed in a number of drawings.[42] For the "Annunciation" there are two finished studies, one (fig. 88; Uffizi 448) for the Virgin, a rather dry, meticulous drawing in red chalk, the other (fig. 87; Uffizi 6653) for the angel, a sketch full of freshness and movement. Pontormo employed in the latter a mixed technique of pencil washed with bistre, which furnishes us with a precious criterion of the use that he made of chalk and wash toward the end of the twenties. Earlier sketches for the

[38] A. S. F., Convento 83, No. 130, Scritture diverse di Casa Capponi (1410-1539).
[39] *Illust. di S. Felicita*, p. 35.
[40] A. S. F., Convento 83, No. 115 (1485-1528), p. 21. See Appendix II, Doc. 17.
[41] VI, 271.
[42] For a detailed discussion of these drawings, see my *Dessins*.

angel's neck and shoulders may be found on Uffizi 6570 verso, and it is not impossible that the draped figure on the recto of this sheet is an abandoned idea for the pose of the Madonna. The touch is undoubtedly of this period, but the light drapery, apparently inappropriate for a Madonna, weakens somewhat our supposition. The figure may, of course, be a study for the lost "Pomona" that Jacopo painted in fresco near the door of Filippo del Migliore's house, in Via Larga — a work that Vasari mentions immediately after the Certosa, and which, therefore, should be placed just before Jacopo's frescoes and altar-piece at Santa Felicita.

For the "Deposition" of the Capponi Chapel we have many drawings. On Uffizi 6666 (fig. 93), the Madonna's head is sketched from the male nude, and on Uffizi 6627 (fig. 94), the head of the woman to her left is studied twice. In the "Deposition," Pontormo combined these studies, using one for the features and the other for the arrangement of the headdress. Both are evidently drawn from life, as is Uffizi 6577 (fig. 95), a study for the head of the youth who carries the knees of Christ, in which the features are more troubled and more realistic than in the altar-piece where so personal a note would have spoiled the fine serenity of the scene. The divergence between the painting and the drawing is a clear indication of how profoundly Pontormo's imagination transfigured his material. The youth who carries the shoulders of Christ may be seen in a number of sheets. Corsini 124229 verso and 124230 (fig. 96) are first thoughts for his head and shoulders; on Uffizi 6730 (fig. 97) there is a sketch for his legs and drapery; and on Uffizi 6613 verso (fig. 98) the movement of his legs is studied from the nude. Here too we find a part of his drapery, as well as the marvellously prompt strokes with which Pontormo first sketched the whole figure. A somewhat mannered study (fig. 99; Uffizi 6619) of an unpleasant type of nude, drawn from the life, is Jacopo's first idea for the Christ. The touch has a certain sincerity, but the pose is without charm of movement, and in the conception of this figure the altar-piece marks a notable advance. The drapery of the upper part

of the youth in the upper right-hand corner of the picture appears in Uffizi 6730 (fig. 97), and in Uffizi 6576 recto (fig. 100) the entire figure is studied from the nude. This is by far the most interesting sheet we possess for Santa Felicita. It is of a supple sureness of hand, caressing and delightful.

For the "tondi" of the pendentives[43] we have in the British Museum (Payne Knight Collection, P. p. 2, 102) an idea for the "Evangelist" to the right above the "Annunciation." Berenson believes that Uffizi 6647 recto is also a first thought for one of these medallions, but one should notice in passing that the pose is far from that of any of the figures in their final form.

Since the frescoes of the cupola proper no longer exist, one can hardly pretend to identify drawings with them. It is, nevertheless, not impossible that Uffizi 6590 and 6613, studies of male figures seated on a low step, are sketches for the "Patriarchs." The pose, the head thrown back gazing up, suggests that they were intended to occupy the lower part of a circular vaulting. Berenson thinks that they are for the Vertumnus at Poggio. But the quality of the contour in Uffizi 6590 is precisely that of 6576 recto, one of our best studies for the "Deposition," and the arms, hands, and head, of 6613 should be compared with similar parts of the latter drawing.

The drawings for the Capponi Chapel have, on the whole, less vitality of line than those for Poggio. In them the touch is a little too fine and tight. They have none of that almost too obvious amplitude of form which distinguishes many sketches for the earlier masterpiece, and they are certainly much less magnificently lyrical. The portrait-drawings (fig. 101 and 102) from this period are subtly imaginative, fragile, and transparent evocations to which the introspective and restless spirit of the sitter still clings.

While he was still at work in Santa Felicita, Pontormo

[43] In his "Life of Pontormo" (VI, 271) Vasari states that one of the Evangelists was painted by Bronzino who was then working with Jacopo; in his "Life of Bronzino" (VII, 594) he says that Bronzino painted two Evangelists and certain figures of the vaulting. It is impossible now to disentangle these inconsistencies.

also painted for Capponi a portrait of his daughter as the Magdalen,[44] which has since been lost, although we still have a drawing (Uffizi 6546) that may have been made for the work in question. At all events this sheet appears to date from the late twenties although, curiously enough, it shows an excess of sentiment hardly to be found in Florentine art before the Seicento.

[44] Vasari, VI, 272.

CHAPTER VI

1527-1530

Between 1527 and 1531 Florence passed through its last tumultuous crisis. On May 16, 1527, Alessandro, Ippolito, and their tutor Passerini were expelled from the city, and for the moment, patriotism ran high in spite of class selfishness and individual cupidity. Unhappily it was too late; the end of the Republic was at hand.[1]

In the popular enthusiasm of those years, we have, I believe, indirect evidence of the date of the "Madonna, St. Anne and Four Saints," now in the Louvre (fig. 104). The picture was ordered by the Captain and Officials of the Signoria for the nuns of St. Anne.[2] In a medallion under the Madonna's feet, these officials, accompanied by commanders, mace-bearers, "tavolaccini," fifes and trumpets, are represented as proceeding solemnly to the convent beyond the San Frediano gate where they rendered homage, on July 26 of every year, to the nuns' patron saint. The origins of this ceremony went back to the Trecento when, on St. Anne's Day, 1343, the Duke of Athens was driven from the city. In his note on our picture Milanesi[3] refers to the historical meaning of the ceremony, and since his time a vague notion seems to have arisen that this altar-piece was painted for the two-hundredth anniversary of the festival. Critics have, accordingly, dated it 1543,[4] in other words, fifteen years too late. It is altogether unlikely that a

[1] Vettori, *Sommario,* p. 382. Cambi, XXII, pp. 317-319. Varchi, *Storia,* III, i, pp. 156-158.

[2] Vasari, VI, 273. Richa, IV, 222.

[3] Vasari, *loc. cit.,* note 3.

[4] Berenson, *Florentine Painters,* p. 176. Lafenestre, *Musée National du Louvre,* 4th ed., 1907, p. 102. De Ricci, *Peintures du Louvre,* p. 40.

painting, so clearly intended to celebrate the deliverance of the city from a tyrant, should have been ordered at the very moment when Cosimo I was sternly repressing the last traces of freedom in Tuscany.[5] Such a picture belongs to a very different moment, and must have been painted between May 16, 1527, the date of the expulsion of the Medici, and August 12, 1530, when the city surrendered. After the exile of Alessandro and Ippolito, the festival commemorating the deliverance of Florence from an ancient tyrant took on an added solemnity. Of this, Pontormo's altar-piece is, in all probability, a record. The books of the Signoria have been lost, so that no documents exist for this picture. It is, however, worthy of notice that the "gonfaloniere" elected in 1527 was Niccolò Capponi, a relative of the Lodovico for whom Pontormo was working at the moment.[6]

But on closer examination, the panel itself comes magnificently to our aid. The drapery, although heavier, is not unlike that of the Virgin of the "Annunciation," or that of the "Evangelists" at Santa Felicita. The Madonna and St. Anne wear a head-dress of the kind worn by the Madonna and the women of the "Deposition," and in both pictures the features of the Virgin are the same. These are resemblances that cannot be explained, if our picture really dates from 1543, for at that moment Pontormo was more exclusively Michelangelesque than at any other period. Convincing proof that our chronology is correct is to be found in the finished drawing (fig. 105; Uffizi 460) for the whole composition. It is in pen and bistre and technically close to the study for the Angel at Santa Felicita.

In the Louvre panel, as in the landscape of a "Madonna and Child" (fig. 103), dating from 1528-1529 and now in the Corsini Palace in Florence, that faint influence of Dürer's art which lingered in the Capponi "Deposition" is still further attenuated, although the St. Sebastian of the former picture recalls strangely a "Sebastian" from Dürer's workshop, which

[5] Capponi, II, 494.

[6] Varchi, VI, i, pp. 383, 396.

is now in the Archbishop's palace at Ober St. Veit,[7] near Vienna. This resemblance, which cannot be fortuitous, may explain Vasari's remark that the figures of the St. Anne altarpiece, like those of the shrine at Boldrone, are not purely Italian — a comment for which there is no other justification, for the central group of the Louvre picture certainly owes something to Leonardo, and the arrangement of the saints in it suggests early compositions by Fra Bartolommeo.

Leonardo's influence is visible elsewhere in pictures of this period. A complicated and ingenious composition of the "Madonna and Little St. John"[8] that now hangs in the Uffizi may have been suggested by some lost drawing of the great master's,[9] although we cannot help remarking that the movement of the Madonna's shoulder, head and arm is repeated in a drawing (fig. 109) for a "St. Jerome," the archetype of which is Leonardo's unfinished "St. Jerome," now in the Vatican. This sketch is of the same date as Santa Felicita.

The frenzied gestures of the charging horsemen in Pontormo's "Martyrdom of St. Maurice" (fig. 106),[10] the frantic, galloping horses, small-nosed, full-necked, round-haunched and compact, the wild rush of the onslaught, in that "sanguinoso fango" where every brutal, pitiless passion is unchained, have their prototype in the "Battle of Anghiari."[11] The orgy of nude bodies, on the other hand, and the exaggerated muscles of the figures, are derived from Michelangelo, although

[7] Painted for Friedrich der Weise between 1502 and 1504. The drawing for this picture is now in the Städel Institute, in Frankfort.

[8] Uffizi, No. 1578. Gamba (*Disegni di Jacopo Carucci,* Firenze, 1912) places this picture about 1525. In my opinion it was painted about 1528.

[9] It is interesting to note that Eleonora gave to the Duke of Altamira a copy that Bronzino made of a "Madonna" by Leonardo. Cf. Vasari, VI, 284, note. Gaye, III, 94.

[10] Pitti, No. 182.

[11] There are reasons to doubt the existence of Leonardo's work as late as 1528-1530. We know by documentary evidence that in 1513 it was in a condition so deplorable that a beam had to be used to prevent its collapse. The cartoon, or pieces of it, may have existed long after the wall painting had disappeared. Both Cellini and Vasari state that the cartoon hung for a long time in the Sala del Papa and was studied there by all the young artists of Florence (Vasari, V, 8). It is not unlikely that in painting the "Martyrdom of St. Maurice" Pontormo merely used sketches that he had made from the cartoon years before.

the type of nude is still far from the thick-necked giant of the latter's middle period.

For this panel, which Vasari[12] says was ordered by the women of the Innocents, we have no document. Perhaps, in fact, no document ever existed. We know that the women occupied, in the hospital, a place apart, which was closed with a high double gate. If they really ordered the picture, they probably paid for it themselves, and such a payment would not have been entered on the books of the institution. It is true that in 1529 Pontormo had transactions with the authorities of the hospital, but on grounds so circumstantial we are not justified in assigning the picture to that year, even though Vasari does so by implication. Close study, however, of the draperies of the Judge and of the figure in the foreground makes clear their likeness to the drapery of the Louvre altar-piece. But we have still other evidence for the date of the panel of a more indisputable and intimate nature: the drawing we possess of an arched variant (fig. 108) of the upper left-hand quarter of the composition is identical in draughtsmanship with the sketch for a "St. Jerome" (fig. 109; Uffizi 441)[13] of which we have just spoken. In both we find the same fine hatchings, the same somewhat brittle line, the same violent contrast in the modelling of the muscles, and in both we have the same great-shouldered, bottle-armed, round-headed type. Our drawing of St. Jerome, like the delicate study of a women on the verso of the same sheet (fig. 110), dates from 1527-1529; its relation to Santa Felicita proves that. The "Martyrdom of St. Maurice" cannot be later than 1530.

In the Uffizi[14] there is a smaller version (fig. 107) of the same composition that Jacopo painted for Carlo Neroni,[15] in which we find only the cavalry, the angels, and the baptism of the martyrs. The vertical axis of the composition has also been rearranged and the colour-scheme reconsidered, from

[12] VI, 275.

[13] *Dessins*, pp. 91, 290.

[14] No. 1187.

[15] Vasari, VI, 275.

which facts we may conjecture that the Pitti picture is the earlier by a brief interval of time. Both panels, which were once quite famous, are a mere patchwork of derived ideas, and in colouring they are cold and dry. Perhaps the neatness of their execution, or the mere fact that they are Michelangelesque, veiled for Pontormo's contemporaries their poverty as art.

Between 1528 and 1530 Pontormo painted the splendid "Visitation" that once adorned a villa of the Pinadori family, near Carmignano, and that is now in the village church.[16] In this altar-piece (fig. 111), the more than human proportions of the figures, the grand simplicity of their attitude and gesture, isolates the divine event and intensifies its significance. Here, then, we have a curious attempt to give, in other terms than those commonly used by Michelangelo's followers, that sense of the superhuman which the latter so insistently dwelt upon. To emphasize the note of grandeur Pontormo, like Andrea in all his later pictures, employs voluminous draperies but, unlike Andrea's leaden stuffs, Pontormo's are light and loose in their amplitude. The same folds may be found again in the Louvre "Madonna and St. Anne," and in the works at Santa Felicita. The composition is to a certain degree suggestive of Dürer's "Die Vier Nackten Frauen," and the St. Elizabeth recalls his "Nemesis" reversed. The final study (fig. 112; Uffizi 461)[17] for this "Visitation" survives, the touch of which approaches drawings for the Capponi Chapel. It is, however, drier and, what is rare with Pontormo, the drawing is inferior to the picture.

Vasari mentions another work, "The Raising of Lazarus," now lost, that must have been painted in the second half of the decade of the twenties, and of it he tells a story. Della Palla, who acted as a kind of royal antiquarian and art-dealer to Francis I, tried, while Pierfrancesco Borgherini was absent

[16] Bocchi, p. 286: "modello d 'una Visitazione in piccolo del Pontormo, i cui panneggiamenti son bellissimi e toccati con franchezza, e stimo che l 'originale in grande sia in una Villa de' Pinadori a Carmignano." This sentence occurs in Bocchi's description of the house of Andrea Pitti.

[17] *Dessins,* pp. 104 f.

from Florence, to buy from his wife Pontormo's famous "cassone" panels, and failing in the attempt, finally persuaded Jacopo to paint a special picture for the French King.[18] Borgherini was a partisan of the Medici, and it was in 1527 that he fled with them to Lucca. The "Lazarus," therefore, could hardly have been begun before 1528. In 1530 Florence was invested and all traffic stopped, and in 1531 Della Palla was exiled from the city.[19] We can hardly err, then, if we assume that this picture was finished about 1529.[20] A beautiful drawing (fig. 113) exists that may have served for the figure of Lazarus.[21] In it we seem to divine an exquisite ecstasy of surprise such as one might feel in coming back to life.

During the siege (1528-1530) Pontormo painted the portrait of Francesco Guardi dressed as a soldier,[22] which has since been lost or is unidentified. Its cover, which Vasari attributes to Bronzino, is now in the Barberini Gallery[23] and represents "Pygmalion and Galatea." In these figures all serious students of Pontormo's art see, at a glance, the master's hand. The type of the cranium is especially noticeable, recalling instantly many of the heads in the "Martyrdom of St. Maurice." His touch is less convincingly present in the altar and the accessories, and in these details his pupil had, perhaps, some trifling part that Bronzino may have mentioned when he discussed the life of Jacopo with Vasari. It is permissible to conjecture that the latter, misinterpreting Bronzino's remarks, was led to

[18] Vasari, V, 27; VI, 262 f. For Della Palla's activities as a picture-dealer, see Vasari, V, 27, 50, 51, 55; VI, 61.

[19] Varchi, XII, ii, pp. 531-533.

[20] It is worthy of remark that the "Sacrifice of Isaac" by Andrea, now in Dresden, was ordered by Della Palla for the King of France, but that this panel, which dates from 1528-1530, never came into the possession of Francis I. It was sold to Filippo Strozzi and was later in the collection of the Marchese del Vasto. In 1529, therefore, Della Palla had in all probability ceased to act as agent of the French King. He died, as is well known, in the fortress of Pisa where he was imprisoned after the siege. The Marchese del Vasto mentioned is the Alfonso Davolo for whom Pontormo painted his "Noli me tangere." He had a house in the island of Ischia to which he took the pictures that he had acquired in Florence. Cf. Vasari, V, 51.

[21] Uffizi 6723. Cf. *Dessins*, p. 257.

[22] Vasari, VI, 275.

[23] No. 83.

attribute to him the whole work. The "Portrait of a Youth," now in Bergamo (fig. 116), the firm but dry "Portrait of a Man," in the Uffizi Gallery (fig. 118), the gracious "Portrait of a Youth," at Lucca (fig. 115), as well as two birth-plates, one in the Uffizi (fig. 114) and the other in the Palazzo Davanzati, date from these years. Many drawings also testify to his unceasing curiosity during this epoch and leave a record of strange excursions into a dim marginal world beyond which draughtsmanship can hardly penetrate. Of these, one of ghastly force and incisive promptitude of vision (fig. 117), another of precise and fastidious dexterity of touch (fig. 120), and still another (fig. 121) haunted by some wistful uncanniness — unfaltering jotting of a surprised and cringing half-human, half-spectral thing that was probably drawn a few years later — will serve us as illuminating examples.

From 1520 to 1530 Pontormo's inspiration was varied and his activity great. In spite of adverse criticism of the Certosa frescoes, his position in the artistic world had become steadily more important. In 1525 his name was inscribed in the book of the Company of San Luca;[24] on June 5, 1526, he was enrolled among the painters in the Guild of the Medici e Speziali.[25] Up to this time he had lived in lodgings in the parish of San Giovanni,[26] but, on March 15, 1529, he purchased from the Hospital of the Innocents two lots on the Via Laura, now Via della Colonna,[27] on which he proposed to build a house and a "bottega" for his own use — an intention that he was not to carry out until about 1534.

[24] A. S. F., Accademia del Disegno, No. 1, Registro contenente Capitoli e ordinamenti della Compagnia di S. Luca e dell'arte, e l'Elenco dei Pittori Ascritti a quella compagnia (1340-1550), p. 10 v. See Appendix II, Doc. 18.

[25] A. S. F., Medici e Speziali, No. 11, Libro Verde, Matricola per la Città, p. 27 left. See Appendix II, Doc. 19.

[26] A. S. F., Catasto, Estimo del Contado, No. 5, Quartiere S. Giovanni, 1520, Popoli 1-95, No. 128, p. 57 left. See Appendix II, Doc. 20.

[27] A. S. F., Catasto, Libro a parte 1534, Cittadini a parte, Q. S. M. N. e S. G., 1534, No. 11, Qre. Sto. Gni. Chiave, p. 448 left. See Appendix II, Doc. 21. Cf. Vasari, VI, 279.

CHAPTER VII

1530 TO 1545 AND LATER

Our study of Pontormo's art encounters more formidable difficulties of chronology between 1530 and 1540 than at any other period. After 1530 Pontormo no longer worked for convents or religious companies, and rarely even for private persons, but, like many other artists in Florence, he depended for his commissions almost entirely upon Alessandro or Cosimo de' Medici. The archives of the first ten years of the ducal government are hopelessly incomplete, and no written documents exist for pictures executed during that time. It is also a curious fact, due apparently to the political disorder following the siege, that from this period few paintings by Jacopo have come down to us. Nevertheless, the dates of certain of his undertakings are delimited by well-known events, so that by a close study of these we may establish a correct, if undocumented, chronology for these years.

After the triumph of the Medici, Clement VII wished to carry out the decoration of the Great Hall at Poggio. Andrea del Sarto[1] and Franciabigio[2] were dead, and to Pontormo, therefore, the whole commission was entrusted. No higher tribute could have been paid to his ability. He was the greatest painter in Florence at that moment. The scaffolding was erected, and all preparations for the work were made, but Jacopo delayed. Neither Alessandro nor Ottaviano de' Medici could get him to proceed with decision.[3] Vasari would have us believe that his dilatoriness was due to illness and to the

[1] January 22, 1531.

[2] January 24, 1525.

[3] Vasari, VI, 276.

fact that Bronzino was not in Florence to help him.[4] The real causes unquestionably lay deeper. Jacopo had struggled, with an open mind, through a maze of complex tradition, he had tried many canons, and with each he had endeavoured, sometimes as at Poggio with wonderful insight, to illustrate the fundamental laws of decoration. He had seen that to be beautifully effective a wall-painting should contain no element that makes a special appeal of its own; that it should be neither narrative nor epic nor dramatic, but just pictorial, a rest to our eye, a subtle stimulation to our sense of harmonious fitness; that the figures should be convincing enough to soothe our unwordable instinct for form, our thoughtless curiosity for the sensation of substance, but that they should never be insistent; that the composition should fit the space available with a kind of fine levity without calling attention either to the problem or to its solution; and that the colour should be pale and light, a few bright tones carried through the whole, leaving the surface unified, the expanse of the wall unbroken.

But his very sincerity, his very insight into his art's underlying principles diminished his self-confidence. He could not stupidly repeat himself, and a method, a manner once found, once tried, immediately lost for him its interest. His keen sense of the vast problems involved in mural painting forced him to try a new and serious solution of at least one of these problems in each new fresco. One cannot wonder, then, that before the unfinished spaces of the Great Hall he felt a terrible hesitation, a hesitation all the more paralysing because he was ill, and overstrained by the arduous years just passed.

On the other hand, this period of unproductive delay was not an evidence of diminished creativeness. Intellectually, Pontormo was hard at work; he was reconsidering the meaning of that canon of form which, in the San Lorenzo tombs (1526-1531), Michelangelo had given to an astonished world. What

[4] Bronzino was in Pesaro at work on his frescoes in Villa Monte Imperiale and on other undertakings for Guidobaldo della Rovere, among them the portrait now in the Pitti (No. 149) and long ascribed to Pontormo. Cf. the Catalogue Raisonné, under Florence, Pitti Palace, and Thode, *Ein fürstlicher Sommeraufenthalt in der Zeit der Hochrenaissance, Jahrbuch d. königl. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, IX (1888), pp. 163, 171, 179.

his contemporaries imitated superficially, he now strove to comprehend profoundly. And to do so he put his past again behind him and with a fresh eye faced the problem. Knowing his keen intellectual sincerity, we will not be surprised to find him, now and then, in his next phase, more Michelangelesque than even Michelangelo himself.[5]

What arrested Pontormo's natural development, as painter and draughtsman, was not his apparently great susceptibility to influence of every kind, but personal contact with Michelangelo while the latter was at work in Florence.[6] That contact and the overwhelming wave of Michelangelo's popularity turned Jacopo's receptive curiosity and interest in other craftsmen's ideas — interest and curiosity that he inherited from Florentine tradition — into downright captivation. We may believe that he now sought the great master's society and became his friend, so that to the influence of Michelangelo's art was added the magnetism of a presence[7] to which Jacopo's sensitive nature instantly responded. From 1530 on, for more than ten years, we watch him stagger under an ever increasing burden — the obsession of Michelangelo's types and poses.

The San Lorenzo tombs[8] and the Cavalieri drawings[9] played a great part in his temporary undoing. The former he must have seen only too frequently, both before they were finished, and after they had been placed in the chapel; the latter he constantly studied, and they were too magnificently rich in ideas not to enthrall him.

[5] Vasari, VI, 278.

[6] *Ibid.*, 277; VII, 273.

[7] It was on April 11, 1531, that the Archbishop of Capua first asked Michelangelo to design a "Noli me tangere" for Alfonso Davolo, but it was not until October of the same year that it was agreed that Pontormo should paint the picture from Michelangelo's cartoon. Cf. Frey, *Dichtungen*, 327, 509; *Briefe*, 309; Thode, *Michelangelo*, I, 411; III, 554. Figiovanni's letter to Michelangelo from the days immediately following October 27, 1531 (Frey, *Dichtungen*, 509, Reg. 28) seems to indicate that it was actually in Michelangelo's house that Pontormo put into oils the former's cartoon. In a letter to Febo (di Poggio?) of December, 1534, Michelangelo states that he intended to leave Florence the next day never to return.

[8] 1526-1534.

[9] 1532-1534. Vasari, VII, 271 f. Cf. a letter of Cavalieri's, dated January 1, 1533, to Michelangelo thanking him for the drawing of the "Tityrus," and another, dated September 5, 1533, thanking him for the "Phaethon."

At all events, little figures derived from the Medici tombs are sketched, with increasing frequency, on the sheets belonging to these years. He even seems to have reconsidered such early studies for Dead Christs as Uffizi 6687 and 6690,[10] drawing below each, in minute black chalk, more twisted, muscular versions of the same pose, which have for parent the "Night" or the "Day," and that are comments upon the work of his youth, made by a man dazed by a greater vision. In the same spirit he tried, over and over again, to solve the secret of Michelangelo's magic, drawing shape after shape reminiscent of that master's inventions.

Several designs (fig. 121 and 122), mannered but delightful, survive from this period of renewed research. One of these (Uffizi 6748)[11] is a drawing for "The Three Graces," in which the pose of the left-hand figure has in it something suggestive still of the woman to the left of the Carmignano "Visitation." From 1531-1534 we have a magnificent, but ruined, cartoon (Uffizi 13861)[12] for "Nudes Playing at Calcio," undoubtedly one of the drawings that Vasari says were made for the second series of frescoes at Poggio, which were never executed.[13] The composition is splendid, strange in its equilibrium, spacious and full of movement. In spirit and form this design differs totally from the lunette at Poggio that Pontormo finished eleven years earlier, and had it been executed, its strenuous playfulness of mighty nudes would have made the existing

[10] For these drawings, see my *Dessins*.

[11] The composition of this drawing goes back to classic examples of the subject of which a number, in various materials, survive. Most important of these for its influence on the Renaissance is the small marble group, now in the Library of the Cathedral of Siena, which inspired Raphael's "The Three Graces" of the Musée de Chantilly, and Marcantonio's engraving; B. 340. — Pass. 188. — Ottl. 262; reproduced, Delaborde, *Marc-Antoine Raimondi*, p. 169. It is perhaps to the latter that Pontormo's drawing owes, in a more precise sense, its general arrangement, although he has, of course, introduced into his treatment a subtle, mannered, self-conscious exaggeration of line and gesture. Vasari shows in his "Three Graces," now in the Museum of Budapest, that he was not unacquainted with Jacopo's drawing.

[12] Vasari, VI, 276: "in uno de' quali cartoni, che sono oggi per la maggior parte in casa di Lodovico Capponi, è un Ercole che fa scoppiare Anteo; in un altro una Venere e Adone; ed in una carta, una storia d'ignudi che giocano al calcio."

[13] The project was abandoned after the death of Clement VII, on September 25, 1534 (Vasari, VI, 276, 278).

fresco seem trivial and aimless. It belongs, one might almost say, to a different world, for by the time it was designed Pontormo had already read himself deep into the meaning of Michelangelo's art. He understood not only Michelangelo's conception of pose and structure but his theory of spacing and movement as well. Some of the drawings (Uffizi 6616, 6738)[14] for single figures of this composition, are still, in spite of their mannerism, of considerable vitality.

But close as is Pontormo's rendering of the Michelangelesque canon in the "Nudes Playing at Calcio," the malady of imitation was to go deeper still, and yet another circumstance was to contribute to the crushing of Jacopo's personality. For both the "Noli me tangere," which he was now commissioned to paint for Alfonso Davolo[15] and the "Venus and Cupid," executed for Bartolomeo Bettini, Michelangelo himself not only furnished the cartoons, but expressed the desire that Pontormo be chosen as the artist best able to translate into paint the cartoon of the former picture.[16] The address displayed by Jacopo led to an order from the condottiere Alessandro Vitelli for a replica of the "Noli me tangere,"[17] and to the commission for the "Venus" from Bettini.[18] An artist of Pontormo's alertness of mind could not, without the most serious consequences, fulfil tasks such as these at the moment when of his own accord he was devoting himself to a profound study of the works of his great contemporary. These commissions reacted upon Jacopo's style in a way that was much talked about in Florence, and Vasari condenses for us the gossip of the time.[19]

[14] *On Certain Drawings*, p. 15. Cf. also *Dessins*, pp. 188 f., 267.

[15] Vasari, VI, 276. Since Michelangelo furnished the cartoon for this picture late in 1531, Pontormo probably finished it in the spring of 1532.

[16] Vasari, VI, 277.

[17] The panel for Davolo and its replica have disappeared. The cartoon also has been lost. We may however form an idea of the composition from a copy, perhaps the work of Battista Franco, that is now in the store-rooms of the Uffizi. See Carlo Gamba, *Una copia del "Noli Me Tangere" di Michelangelo, Bollettino d'arte*, III (1909), fasc. iv, pp. 148-151, and Vasari, VI, 575.

[18] Vasari, VI, 277.

[19] *Ibid.*

But, even if we did not have Vasari's testimony, no one could have the slightest doubt that Jacopo was deeply impressed by Michelangelo's cartoons. After he had undertaken the "Venus," he brooded over the conception of that picture, rehandling the motive twice in little sketches (Uffizi 444, 446), which are Michelangelesque in arrangement only; once with magnificent great freedom (Uffizi 6534) beyond even his master's power at that moment; and once again later (fig. 133; Uffizi 6586),[20] with tight distortion and strange exaggeration, in what is probably a study for one of the allegorical figures for the Medicean villa at Castello.

The composition of the "Venus and Cupid"[21] is well known (fig. 123). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this picture enjoyed a great reputation.[22] It was copied many times,[23] and we still have several ancient adaptations, by various hands. In the opinion of many critics, including Berenson,[24] the original is now in the Uffizi, where it was found in 1850 in the Guardaroba and rescued from a long neglect.[25] The panel has undergone an elaborate restoration and the position in which it now hangs makes impossible a critical study of the original touch. Such examination, however, as I have been able to give it has by no means convinced me that we are not in the presence of a genuine work of Jacopo's. The feet are those we find in the drawing, Uffizi 6586 (fig. 133), and the ear and the contour of the legs are characteristic, but the hand has been horribly repainted, as also has the drapery. We need not be surprised that in the colour little remains that is suggestive of Pontormo, for Michelangelo was, in all likelihood, responsible not only for the cartoon but for the original colour-scheme as well.

One can easily determine the date of the "Venus."

[20] For a discussion of these drawings, see my *Dessins*.

[21] Vasari, VI, 277. Thode, *Michelangelo*, III, 487.

[22] Vasari, VI, 277 f. Varchi, *Due Lezzioni*, p. 104. Borghini, p. 395.

[23] For a list of these copies, see the Catalogue Raisonné, under Florence, Uffizi.

[24] *Florentine Painters*, p. 175.

[25] See Milanesi's note, Vasari, VI, 291-295, also the Catalogue Raisonné, *loc. cit.* and Appendix II, Doc. 33 and 34.

Vasari's narrative[26] is quite exact at this point: "Allora (after he had begun the 'Venus') conobbe Iacopo quanto avesse mal fatto a lasciarsi uscir di mano l'opera del Poggio." We know that the second commission for the frescoes at Poggio was cancelled by the death of Clement and that Bettini could not, therefore, have ordered the "Venus" much before 1533. It was finished, it would seem, about 1535, for Vasari's observations imply that its execution extended over part of the time during which Jacopo was at work on his portrait of Alessandro.[27]

Happily this portrait,[28] which I have identified with a portrait in the Johnson Collection (fig. 124), is fully documented.[29] It was painted while, to the great scandal of Florence, Alessandro was frequenting the society of Taddea Malespina and her sister. According to Vasari,[30] Pontormo made first, "per più commodità," a miniature of the Duke, which has been lost. The biographer then describes the portrait, adding that the Duke was represented with a stylus in his hand in the act of drawing the head of a woman[31] — a detail which is one of the most striking features of the Johnson picture. Moreover, Vasari's portrait of the Duke,[32] painted in 1532-1533, as well as a portrait from the workshop of Bronzino[33] labelled in lettering of the seventeenth century, ALEX · MED · FLOR · DUX · I · LAURENS · F · , together with the latter's prototype in Bergamo,[34] and its replica at Heidelberg,[35] all reveal the presence of the same sitter. Further evidence of the authenticity of the Johnson portrait is supplied by a letter that a certain Costantino Ansaldo wrote to Ferdinand I, in 1571.[36]

[26] VI, 277.

[27] *Ibid.*, 278.

[28] Vasari (VI, 278) says that the commission was given to Pontormo on account of the success of his now lost portrait of Amerigo Antinori.

[29] F. M. Clapp, *Un ritratto d'Alessandro de' Medici*, *Rassegna d'arte*, XIII (1913), pp. 63-66.

[30] VI, 278.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Uffizi, No. 1281.

[33] Now in the corridor between the Uffizi and the Pitti, No. 20.

[34] Morelli Collection, No. 65.

[35] Thode Collection.

[36] A. S. F., Carteggio mediceo del Principato, Filza 567, c. 187 and 225. Cf. Carlo Carnesecchi, *Sul ritratto d'Alessandro de' Medici dipinto dal Pontormo*, *Rivista d'arte*,

He describes the portrait, states that the Duke, dressed in mourning, was seen full face seated at a table, and adds that the panel was painted in the Pazzi palace "nel tempo che morse la buona memoria di Papa Clemente," that it was given to him by the Duke in reward for his faithful service, and that, after Alessandro's death, it had been presented by him to Taddea Malespina, one of the Duke's mistresses.[37] Our identification of this portrait rests, then, on the solidest foundation. There was no one but Clement, his father, for whom Alessandro would have put on mourning during the early years of the thirties. The Pope died, September 25, 1534, and the portrait must accordingly date from the end of 1534 or the beginning of 1535. The fact that its date can be determined with such comparative accuracy helps us to define also, to a certain degree, the date of other portraits that must have been painted during the ten years immediately following the siege. These will be discussed, in some detail, in the chapter devoted entirely to Pontormo's work in portraiture.

After the "Venus" and the "Portrait of Alessandro" were finished, the Duke commissioned Pontormo to paint two "loggie" in the Medicean villa at Careggi, with the help of assistants, and with the utmost dispatch. Vasari[38] writes that the decoration consisted of six allegorical figures — Fortune, Justice, Victory, Peace, Fame, and Love[39] — which, in one of the "loggie," occupied the lower part of the vaulting. Jacopo designed them all, but the execution of the first five was Bronzino's, and only the last was painted by Pontormo. In the hollow of the vaulting, there were flying "putti" designed

VI (1909), No. 1, and Gualandi, *Raccolta di lettere*, III, 62-70, where the number of the original document is given as: Archivio mediceo: Carteggio Universale, Filza 237, c. 187. See Appendix II, Doc. 22.

[37] For further details contained in this letter, see Catalogue Raisonné, under Philadelphia, Johnson Collection.

[38] VI, 280.

[39] The subjects were characteristic of the time. Annibal Caro, secretary of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, selected similar subjects — Religion, Virtue, Fame, Charity, Peace, Abundance, and Justice — for the frescoes executed in the Villa Caprarola, on the flanks of Monte Cimino, by Taddeo and Federigo Zuccaro and their assistants between 1534 and 1546. Both these and Pontormo's decorations were far-off reflections of the "Arts and Virtues" of the Middle Ages. The Zuccaro frescoes still survive.

by our master and coloured by Bronzino. The grotesques and the ornamental part of the work were confided to Jacone,[40] Pierfrancesco di Jacopo and others.[41] When Vasari wrote, these paintings were already ruined.

No document for the date of this undertaking survives. Vasari implies that it was begun soon after the portrait of the Duke was finished, and he explicitly states that the "loggia" itself was finished on December 13, 1536.[42] Taking into account the unusual speed with which the work was done, we may conjecture that it was begun sometime between the summer of 1535 and the spring of 1536. Alessandro was assassinated on January 6, 1537 (New Style), and the second "loggia" was never decorated.

Of the preparatory work only one sheet is known to me — Uffizi 458,[43] on which there are three studies of "putti" flying upward with birds in their hands, the identification of which with Careggi is made possible by Vasari's accurate description of the figures of the vaulting. The cartouche on the same sheet represents Pontormo's first idea for the general arrangement of these figures. They are all of great charm and drawn with joyous promptitude.

After the battle of Montemurlo (August 2, 1537) had ended the last flutter of resistance to Medicean domination,[44] Cosimo was in a position to proceed with the embellishment of his villas.[45] Tribolo's plan for the garden and fountain of Castello[46] is well known, and the commission given to Pontormo for the "loggia" to the left of the courtyard[47] was only part of a great scheme of reconstruction, which included the whole property.

[40] Vasari, VI, 452.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 281. For Jacone who painted on the façade of the Palazzo Buondelmonti, in monochrome, "The Life of Pippo Spano" of which no trace remains, see Vasari, V, 58; VI, 281, 450, 453 f. For Pierfrancesco, see *ibid.*, V, 58.

[42] VI, 281.

[43] *Dessins*, p. 101. Bronzino imitated these "putti" in the choir of flying angels in the "Adoration of the Divine Child," now in Santo Stefano, Pisa.

[44] Nardi, X, ii, pp. 358-377.

[45] Vasari, VI, 281-283.

[46] *Ibid.*, 71-85.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

Jacopo seems to have gone to Castello in the spring of 1538. He designed all the ornaments first and had them executed by Bronzino and the journeymen who had worked at Careggi.[48] Then he shut himself up in the "loggia" with the intention of painting, entirely with his own hands, the figures of the decoration. Since he had just had at Careggi his first real experience with assistants, his desire to work out, in solitude and without help of any kind, the decorations at Castello throws a significant sidelight on his innate dislike of collaboration. He received from Cosimo a stipend of eight "scudi" a month, and he kept the "loggia" closed with a hoarding[49] for five years until weary with waiting, Maria Salviati, the mother of Cosimo, ordered the scaffolding thrown down.[50] Jacopo obtained a brief delay, and then, amid universal expectation, the work was uncovered. It was not a success. The critics found in the figures a lack of proportion[51] and "certi stravolgimenti ed attitudini molto strane." By way of excuse, according to Vasari, Pontormo merely said that he had never had his heart in the work because the place was exposed to the fury of marauding soldiers. Like the "loggia" of Careggi, the decoration was painted in oil upon dry plaster,[52] and in ten years' time it was a mere ruin of which no trace remains today.

The general arrangement must have resembled that of the "loggia" at Careggi. In the pendentives there were allegorical nude figures, which represented Philosophy, Astrology, Geometry, Music, Arithmetic, and a Ceres; in the medallions, little stories appropriate to each figure; in the vaulting, a "Saturn with Sign of Capricorn," a "Mars Hermaphrodite with Sign of Leo and Virgo," and flying "putti" as at Careggi.[53]

Little remains of Jacopo's preparatory studies.[54] I believe

[48] *Ibid.* Jacone helped Pontormo with the greater part of the "grotteschi" both in the loggia at Careggi and at Castello (Vasari, VI, 452).

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[54] For these drawings, see my *Dessins.*

that Uffizi 6584 (fig. 132), a great woman in a pose clearly derived from the San Lorenzo tombs, gives us, in all likelihood, a hint of the pose of one of the principal figures. We have, in Uffizi 6630, almost certainly a design, in itself extremely interesting, for the "Mars Hermaphrodite." Uffizi 6510 is, it would seem, a first thought for the "Saturn," while another design (fig. 133; Uffizi 6586), which is closely related to the "Venus" painted for Bettini and to which we have already referred, is perhaps a finished study for the "Astrology" or the "Geometry." The technique of this drawing manifestly indicates that it dates from these years, and in it the type of figure that Michelangelo had evolved — huge thighs and abdomen, small head, breasts and arms — is rendered with exaggeration and distortion. All these drawings are painfully laboured and over-modelled.

Toward the end of the thirties we must also place, on Vasari's evidence,[55] a portrait of Maria Salviati, lost or as yet unidentified, and a lost portrait of the young Cosimo for which, on the other hand, we have a drawing (Uffizi 6528 verso) and a first sketch in oils.[56]

Two details of Pontormo's private life during this decade are now known. With the hundred "scudi" that he received for his "Portrait of Alessandro" and the "Venus" Jacopo finished his house.[57] From the Catasto of 1545 it is evident that it was built sometime before 1536.[58] It was small, "non cosa di molta importanza," as befitted a solitary craftsman, and its chief peculiarity was a room that Pontormo made his workshop, to which the sole entrance was by a ladder that he was in the habit of pulling up after him to fortify himself against all interruptions.

Travel could have had little attraction for so retiring a spirit, although certain drawings[59] that reflect the glories of

[55] VI, 282.

[56] Article by Carlo Gamba, *Rivista d'arte*, 1910, pp. 125-127.

[57] Vasari, VI, 279.

[58] A. S. F., Catasto, Libro a Parte, No. 11, p. 448 left; Libro S. Gio. a Parte 1549, No. 16, p. 349 left. See Appendix II, Doc. 23. Cf. Vasari, VI, 279.

[59] Benvenuto Cellini brought to Florence from France certain cartoons, drawings and

the Sixtine Chapel tempt one to think that Jacopo had visited Rome before 1520. But deductions based upon drawings are, in such a case, inconclusive. Jacopo may have merely seen in Florence various studies of Michelangelo's for the Sixtine or fragments of his cartoons that had found their way into Tuscany. We have no hint of any other journey until long afterwards, in 1539, in October of which year Milanesi[60] believes — correctly as it happens — that Jacopo was in the Eternal City. The evidence that Milanesi brings forward is, nevertheless, completely unconvincing and rests entirely upon a letter quoted by Visconti in the *Giornale arcadico.*[61] This letter was written by Annibal Caro to Monsignore Giovanni Guidiccioni, and may be read in full in the collected edition of Caro's letters, edited by Tomitano. There the name of the artist mentioned is *Pastermo.* An earlier edition by Volpi gives the same spelling. But in the fragment of the letter that Visconti printed he arbitrarily changed Pastermo to Pontormo. What Caro really wrote cannot be determined without reference to the manuscript of this letter, the whereabouts of which is unknown to me. We have, however, definite and conclusive proof that Jacopo did visit Rome between 1535 and 1543. In the Louvre, among the authentic Pontormo drawings preserved there, more than eighty-five are consecrated entirely to motives of architecture and decoration. They are all in the same technique — pen and bistre — and all of the same date. On ten of these one finds notes in Pontormo's own handwriting which indicate that the detail in question was to be found in one of the churches or among the antiquities of Rome or its environs.[62] How long he stayed away from Florence we have

models by Michelangelo. They had been successively in the hands of Antonio Mini and Giovan Francesco Rustici (Vasari, VI, 620), but in any case they would have reached Florence too late to account for any influence of Michelangelo upon Pontormo before 1530.

[60] Vasari, VI, 274, note.

[61] LXXX, 93. For the text of this letter as well as for Visconti's citation from it, see Appendix II, Doc. 24.

[62] See *Dessins,* pp. 305-325. Baldinucci, of whose collection these sketches once formed part, noted on the mount of No. 954 that they were taken "per lo più da pitture e Anticaglie di Roma." The "Portrait of Cardinal Spannocchi Cervini" (Borghese, No. 408) was probably painted in Rome and it must date from between October, 1540

no means of knowing, but this journey will naturally count for much in explaining his use of Michelangelesque forms later on in San Lorenzo.

Last in this period of Pontormo's work I place his cartoons[63] for certain tapestries that formed part of the first series of "arazzi" executed by Flemish workmen of the weaving industry that was inaugurated in Florence by Cosimo I. They portrayed "The History of Joseph" and once adorned the Sala de' Dugento, in the Palazzo Vecchio. To Pontormo Vasari assigns two cartoons, the subjects of which were "The Lamentation of Jacob" (Pianto di Jacob) and "Joseph and Potiphar's Wife" (Fuga di Joseph; fig. 136). These, he says, pleased neither Cosimo nor the Flemish workmen. To the latter they seemed strange in composition and unsuitable as designs for tapestries. The cartoons have perished but the tapestries still exist in the Palazzo del Quirinale, in Rome, together with others woven, according to Vasari and the books of the Guardaroba,[64] from cartoons by Bronzino and Salviati, among them, a "Benjamin at the Court of Pharaoh" (fig. 134). I am inclined to believe, however, that the latter tapestry may well have been none other than the "Coppa di Joseph" that is given to Pontormo in the Inventory of July 15, 1549, while the "Cattura di Benjamin," cited in the same document and ascribed to Bronzino, would appear to have been in reality the "Cattura di Simeone," correctly attributed to Bronzino in the complete list of all the hangings drawn up in 1553. In any case, our "Benjamin at the Court of Pharaoh" is identical, in size, shape, and spirit, with the two "arazzi" for which Pontormo is known to have furnished the designs and the structure and arrangement of the figures are his. The composition too is informed with qualities quite foreign to those that distinguish the "Burying of the Bones of Jacob," for which it is certain that Bronzino drew the cartoon. And I am the more inclined to

and 1545. Cervini was not created cardinal until shortly after the former date and after the later date he was one of the presidents of the Council of Trent.

[63] Vasari, VI, 283.

[64] Guardaroba, F. 15, pp. 91 v., 94 v. Cf. *Dessins*, pp. 172 f.

attribute our "Benjamin" to Jacopo because we still have a study (fig. 135; Uffizi 6593), for the figure to the right and seen from behind (reversed), which displays all the characteristics of Pontormo's draughtsmanship about 1545. It is, of course, not impossible that Jacopo merely gave certain ideas and suggestions to Bronzino who had actually received the commission for the cartoon. All three compositions are narrow vertical panels. They resemble in shape the frescoes that Pontormo executed later in the upper part of the choir of San Lorenzo — notably the "Sacrifice of Cain" and the "Four Evangelists" — and between these and the frescoes of the "loggia" at Castello they form, as it were, a link.

The first important reference to the weaving industry, fostered by Cosimo I in Florence, is to be found in a letter of his written, in September, 1545, to Don Francesco da Toledo who was then residing in Brussels.[65] In the passage in question the Grand Duke speaks of his determination to establish looms in Tuscany in the hope that the Florentines and their neighbours might be led to prefer Italian tapestries to those made in Flanders, and we may conjecture from the form of this statement that the enterprise had already passed the experimental stage. Payments made to the Flemish weavers, Giovanni Rost and Nicholas Karcher, that one finds recorded in the Libro Creditori e Debitori della Guardaroba (1544-1553) confirm our surmise. Nevertheless, the exact date at which the great set of hangings for the Sala de' Dugento was begun cannot now be determined. A letter of the Maggiordomo to Cristiano Pagni, in December, 1545, is, I think, the earliest mention that we have of the project.[66] But the "arazzieri," Rost and Karcher, did not sign a contract to undertake the work until October 26, 1546. Pontormo's "Fuga di Joseph" (fig. 136) is spoken of as finished in the Inventory of August 3, 1549, while still another document seems to imply that the three tapestries we have been discussing had been delivered to the Grand Duke before October 1, 1548. The first was woven by

[65] Geisenheimer, *Gli arazzi nella sala dei Dugento, Boll. d'arte,* III (1909), 137-147.
[66] Conti, *Ricerche storiche,* pp. 12, 48, 97, 99 f. Geisenheimer, *loc. cit.*

Rost, the other two by Karcher. Pontormo must have worked upon his cartoons sometime between 1545 and 1547.

These tapestries[67] are interesting chiefly as a tentative prelude to the designs for the San Lorenzo choir. They show an evident fatigue, and the "Lamentation of Jacob" is little more than a "réchauffé" of motives taken from the "Doni Madonna" of Michelangelo, from Jacopo's own "Adoration of the Magi" and from his "Pietà" of the Capponi Chapel. The pose of one of the figures recalls the pose of Abel in the drawing (Uffizi 6739) of the "Death of Abel" for San Lorenzo — a design that may well have been one of the first that Pontormo made for the choir frescoes and, therefore, practically contemporaneous with the first cartoon for the tapestries. In the "Benjamin at the Court of Pharaoh" the figure of Joseph seems to be a rehandling of the Maximianus of Jacopo's "Martyrdom of the Theban Legion," which was painted more than fifteen years earlier.

A curious glimpse of Jacopo's private life reaches us from the end of the forties. On August 20, 1549, he became a "commesso" of the Hospital of the Innocents.[68] He paid to that pious foundation one hundred florins, and the Hospital promised to send him every year, for the rest of his life, twenty-four "staia" of grain, six barrels of wine and one barrel of oil.

[67] See Catalogue Raisonné, under Rome, Quirinal.

[68] Archivio degl' Innocenti, Libro di Commessi, B, 1528-1549, p. 319. See Appendix II, Doc. 25 and 26.

CHAPTER VIII

1545-1557

From 1535 to 1545 Pontormo was undisguisedly Michelangelesque. Nothing but the solution of Michelangelo's formulas interested him, and the passionate concentration with which he worked is visible in the few drawings that survive from these years. They bear witness to the marvellous penetration of his spirit, as well as to the perseverance with which he tried to broaden his understanding of plastic form. By 1540 he thoroughly comprehended the mechanism, so to speak, of Michelangelo's art, and had explored the hollow shell to its last secret recess. The very principle of the master's work, the life-enhancing accent laid upon restrained but untamed strength, the implication of elemental grandeur in the forces against which his giant race struggles in vain, was clear to Jacopo. But into his cleverly mimicked shapes he was powerless to strike the colossal pulse which alone could make them live. He was not so much a creator, in the old poetic sense, as an artist in the most modern interpretation of the term, a detached visionary craftsman interested only in the hidden problems of his art.

For that reason, if for no other — like the manner he had evolved at the Annunziata, or in the Visdomini panel, at Poggio, or the Certosa, or Santa Felicita — the allegorical nudes that he had created at Carregi and Castello no longer satisfied Pontormo. Mere Michelangelesque form, once achieved, no longer interested him, mere scientific compactness of composition no longer attracted. Neither was he to be led away into by-ways of scholastic formulas, or into the worship, for its own sake, of the muscular or the heroic. To communicate an

impression of force, of "terribilità" alone, he soon perceived was not art. To Bronzino, Vasari, Bandinelli, and Tribolo, the imitation of Michelangelo's canon was an end in itself. To Pontormo that canon, once thoroughly studied, became what all other canons had been to him — the crude material of a new form of decoration.

The final phase, therefore, of his development was the most misunderstood of his entire career, for he proposed nothing less than to use Michelangelo's superhuman giant as a mere element in a new scheme of mural painting, in which he would audaciously employ that monstrous nude to create a novel and more fantastic beauty.

The opportunity to express himself in terms of this newly conquered material came when Cosimo commissioned him to paint the choir of San Lorenzo.[1] The Medici had been the "padroni" of this chapel for generations and that Pontormo was chosen for the great task of decorating it was the most signal tribute that could have been paid, at that moment, to his genius. The solemnity of the place and the importance of the undertaking stirred Jacopo to even more than his usual earnestness.[2]

We can only imperfectly appreciate to what degree he succeeded in approaching his ideal. The frescoes were destroyed in 1742 by a generation quite incompetent to understand them,[3] when, because of the sinking of the foundation arches, a complete rebuilding of the choir became imperative.[4]

We do not wonder that, to men idolatrous of mere representation, these frescoes had been from the beginning incomprehensible and a failure. Vasari[5] gave expression to the trite criticism of his time, and his last word was: "onde si vede che chi vuol strafare e quasi sforzare la natura, rovina il buono che da quella gli era stato largamente donato." This somewhat smug and academic verdict is stupidly repeated by such writers

[1] Vasari, VI, 284.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 285.
[3] Domenico Moreni, *Continuazione delle memorie*, III, 115.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[5] VI, 287.

as Borghini,[6] Moreni[7] and Richa.[8] Even today, in certain circles, a judgment quite in the spirit of Vasari's would probably be passed upon the frescoes, were they still in existence, but the younger generation of modern painters, who have broken with a paralysing conservatism, would unquestionably hail Pontormo as one of their earliest and most gifted forerunners.

The present arrangement of the organ and of the architectural mouldings of the chapel differs somewhat from that of the primitive plan. An exhaustive comparison of drawings that survive with Vasari's and Bocchi's descriptions of the choir leads me to believe that on entering it one saw: on the upper left-hand side-wall, to the left, "The Creation of Adam," between the windows, "The Temptation," to the right, "The Expulsion from Paradise"; on the upper end-wall, to the left, "Moses Receiving the Law and the Sacrifice of Isaac,"[9] in the centre, "Christ in Glory as Judge," to the right, "The Four Evangelists"; on the upper right side-wall, beginning with the space next to the end-wall, "The Tilling of the Soil," between the windows, "The Sacrifice of Cain and the Death of Abel," in the last space to the right, "The Benediction of the Seed of Noah and the Building of the Ark"; on the lower left wall, "The Resurrection"; on the lower end-wall, on either side of the window, "The Ascent into Heaven" and "The Descent of the Damned"; on the lower right wall, "The Deluge."

The chief difficulty that we encounter with this arrangement is that Vasari[10] speaks of two Creations of Adam and Eve, one in the upper series of frescoes, one at the foot of "Christ in Glory," of which it formed an integral part. The finished drawing (fig. 138) for the "Christ in Glory" exists, and it is evident that here Vasari's description is incorrect, for the lower part of the composition is a "Creation of Eve." In all likeli-

[6] *Il Riposo*, p. 396.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

[8] *Op. cit.*, V, 28. Even the editors of the Milan edition of Vasari (XII, 59, note) regret that Salviati was not given the commission, although they could never have seen Pontormo's frescoes, which were destroyed seventy years before their time.

[9] Bocchi especially praises these figures (*Bellezze*, ed. Cinelli, p. 515).

[10] VI, 285 f.

hood, then, the first fresco on the upper side-walls dealt with the Creation of Adam, not as Vasari says with that of Adam and Eve. To place "The Creation of Eve" at the foot of "Christ in Glory" seemed to Vasari and to most of Pontormo's contemporaries, whose opinion Giorgio perpetuates, a gross violation of orthodox doctrine.[11]

The drawings[12] for San Lorenzo are very numerous; we have the finished study (fig. 138) for the "Christ in Glory," the "Moses Receiving the Law" (fig. 139), the "Four Evangelists" (fig. 140), the "Sacrifice of Cain and Death of Abel" (fig. 141 and 142), and I have identified sketches for the "Descent of the Damned," for the "Tilling of the Soil" (fig. 143), for parts of the "Deluge" (fig. 144, 145 and 146), and for figures in the "Ascent into Heaven" (fig. 147), and in the "Expulsion from Paradise" (fig. 137).

In these Pontormo is a creator of simple and majestic patterns. Here the masses of his composition are deployed in a new rhythm, and to that end he avoids in his unearthly nudes realism and any mere anatomical correctness of proportion, as well as all the scientific solutions of difficulties of pose with which naturalism had laboured to endow art, and all mathematical analysis of perspective. The gesture and the movement of these figures have in them no accepted beauty.

But in drawings for the "Deluge" and the "Resurrection" he goes still further, casting to the winds all canons of artistic propriety. The poses are extravagantly strange, the contours distorted, the structure of the nude impossible. Vasari[13] felt that Judgment Day itself would not be more terribly confused than these last two frescoes. Longer study, however, reveals to us Pontormo's intention. We cannot dismiss these drawings as an aberration, and the eleven years of patient, solitary devotion that Jacopo gave to this new expression of his artistic vision, as years of pitiable feebleness. Indeed, we may be sure that in these studies Pontormo drew no nudes out of all proportion

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[12] For these drawings, see my *Dessins*.

[13] VI, 286.

because he could no longer draw correctly. His serious and searching nature was never more touchingly consecrated to the problem before him than at San Lorenzo. He had, in all that he did there, a definite purpose. That purpose was not unlike the aim of certain painters of today. He perceived, dimly perhaps, but still more clearly than any Italian of his time, that in every work of art there is an element of decoration, source of our pleasure, and an element of representation, source of our sense of reality — an emotional and a scientific side. And he also perceived, I think, that the Florentine Renaissance had been naturalistic, that its best ardour had been spent in solving problems of representation — anatomy, movement, perspective, contour, light and shade — in a word, in the evocation through the figure arts of sensations allied to those that are awakened by the visible world, and that by 1540 all the discoveries of the school, from Masaccio to Michelangelo, had been condensed into elaborate formulas.

Against this tendency he revolted. He tossed and twisted the vast nudes that he had inherited from Michelangelo to fit strange combinations of shape that haunted him. Emotional design, that was his aim — arrangements of lines and masses that stir our sensation of form without the intervention of the mind. Obviously, such compositions could give no pleasure to a generation which had lost, and not yet re-acquired, the art of looking at pictures for their own sake. On one sheet (fig. 146; Uffizi 6528)[14] there is a swaying and falling rhythm of great sea-waves, which the tremendous nudes of the sketch swing to and obey. Surely no more fitting drawing for a "Deluge" was ever made. In it, as in other drawings for San Lorenzo, we divine a symbolism at once incomprehensible and attractive, a fascination, a quality untranslatable into terms of intellectual reflexion. This emotion sometimes permeates studies for individual figures; it lives in the gesture of the nude that we find on Uffizi 6679 (fig. 149).

In unskilful hands such a method would naturally be dangerous. But, by his contact with Andrea and the early

[14] *Dessins*, pp. 132 f.

work of Michelangelo, Pontormo was more thoroughly versed in the study of form for its own sake than any artist working in Florence in 1550. He had therefore a right to his experiment, and we cannot but admire his disregard of adverse criticism. In these drawings there is no tawdry glitter, no laziness of the mind; the emphasis of his research is merely carried from the figure into the design.

Vasari and his friends, who had never sought vitality in form, were of course the first to find Pontormo's figures in the choir of San Lorenzo incorrect. Jacopo sought a broad decorative effect, and they, perversely enough, found only here and there bits of torse rendered with great skill.[15] They misunderstood his intention because they had no conception of that ceaseless renovation of ideals which is the well-spring of an artist's life.

In no account-book of the Medici for this period (1548-1556) is there any mention of payments made to Pontormo.[16] But the Medici owned the chapel, and Vasari[17] definitely states that it was Cosimo who ordered the frescoes and paid for them. Neither have I found any payment made to our painter by the Canons of San Lorenzo, although the books of the Chapter are, for these years, quite complete. In the Medicean Libro di Salariati for 1556 there are, however, two entries of eleven payments made to "Bastiano del gostra pittore con M° Jac° dapontormo." On March 1, 1554, this Bastiano was given a salary of two ducats a month,[18] and it is curious that we find payments made to him and none made to Pontormo.

The baffling silence of the documents makes it impossible to state when the decoration of the choir was undertaken. Vasari[19] says that Jacopo laboured on it eleven years, which

[15] Vasari, VI, 287.

[16] See Catalogue Raisonné, under Lost Pictures, San Lorenzo. One finds in the books of the Medici for these years numerous references to Cellini, Bronzino, Salviati, Bacchiacca and the "Arazzieri."

[17] VI, 284.

[18] A. S. F., Depositeria Generale, No. 394, Libro di Salariati (1555-1556), pp. 42 and 101 right and left. See Appendix II, Doc. 27.

[19] VI, 287. Lapini, in his *Diario fiorentino* (ed. Corazzini, Firenze, 1900), states that Jacopo worked ten years on these frescoes.

would mean that he began the work in 1545. That is not inconceivable, for it is evident from his diary that, between 1554 and 1556, he was ill much of the time, and we may surmise that for some years his health had been failing. In those casual pages he does not perhaps record all the days that he spent at San Lorenzo, but even if we add several days in each month, to those he specifically mentions, we discover that he can hardly have worked there more than thirteen days out of every thirty. At that rate eleven years would have been none too long for such a task. Moreover, he seems to have laboured most of the time in perfect solitude, and we know that on certain occasions he even prepared the plaster with his own hands. At his death parts of the great lower frescoes were still incomplete and in the following year were finished by Bronzino. The choir was not uncovered until July 23, 1558.[20]

Pontormo died, according to Vasari,[21] of dropsy brought on by overwork. He was buried on January 2, 1557[22] and, since in Italy burial often takes place the day after death, it is probable that his death occurred on the first. All the painters, sculptors, and architects of Florence were present at his funeral, and he was buried in the courtyard of the Servites under his fresco of the "Visitation."[23] This, however, was only a temporary interment. His body was afterwards transported in pomp to the Chapel of San Luca,[24] which was originally the chapter-house of the Annunziata and which was ceded by the Servites, sometime not long after 1562, to Montorsoli as sepulchre of the Compagnia del Disegno. Pontormo was the first artist to be buried there. On the round stone in the floor, which covers the vault, is the inscription: FLOREAT

[20] Vasari, *loc. cit.* and VII, 602. Bronzino finished many nudes in the lower part of the "Deluge," and in the "Resurrection" a strip about a "braccio" wide for the entire length of the fresco. Cf. Moreni, *op. cit.*, II, 119; Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Richa, V, 29; Bocchi, *op. cit.*, p. 515 ff. See also for the lower part of the "Deluge," a drawing ascribed to Bronzino, Louvre, No. 1026.

[21] VI, 288.

[22] A. S. F., Medici e Speziali, No. 251, Libro dei Morti (1544-1560), p. 92 r.; Libro dei Morti (1506-1560), Serie della Grascia, p. 524 v. See Appendix II, Doc. 28 and 29.

[23] Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 396. Vasari, VI, 288.

[24] Vasari, VI, 656.

SEMPER VELIM VITA MORTE. The young poet Cosimo Gaci wrote for Jacopo the following epitaph:

> In mille fronti, a cui diè vita e moto
> Lo mio nobil color, legger potrai,
> Viator, chi son io: qui troverai
> Rotto il carcer terren di spirto voto.[25]

In the choir of San Lorenzo, a year or two later, a marble slab was placed which seems to have existed in Moreni's time[26] and on which one read: "Iacobus Puntormius Florentinus, qui, antequam tantum opus absolveret de medio in Coelum sublatus est, et vixit annos LXII menses VII dies VI. A. S. MDLVI." After his death, cartoons and models in clay were found in his house, as well as a fine "Madonna" in his earlier manner, which his heirs sold to Piero Salviati.[27]

Pontormo died intestate. The right to his property was contested by Bronzino and Andrea d'Antonio Chiazzella, the weaver, and the case was won by Andrea as nearest of kin.[28] I believe Milanesi was wrong in identifying this Andrea Chiazzella,[29] distinctly described by Ser Giovanni Giordano as "tessor drapporum," with the Sguazzella, a pupil of Andrea del Sarto, who executed between 1516 and 1524, in an unnamed château in France, various pictures that were destroyed during the Revolution.[30]

What was perhaps the best likeness of Pontormo has perished. It was painted by Bronzino in a corner of the choir of San Lorenzo to the right of a figure of St. Lawrence[31] and disappeared when Jacopo's frescoes were destroyed. But one may still see a portrait of Pontormo by his pupil in Bronzino's

[25] Borghini, p. 396. For sonnets on the death of Pontormo by Bronzino and others, see Appendix II, Doc. 36.

[26] Moreni, *op. cit.*, p. 115. Vasari, VI, 288, note.

[27] Vasari, VI, 288.

[28] A. S. F., Rogiti di Ser Giov. Battista di Lorenzo Giordani, G. 300, p. 399. See Appendix II, Doc. 30.

[29] In a document from the Catasto, which I have discovered, Chiazzella is again called a weaver. In 1561 he is cited as owner of a house in the Via della Colonna which was probably the house that Pontormo himself had built. See Appendix II, Doc. 31.

[30] Vasari, V, 57, note 2; VI, 289, note.

[31] Vasari, VII, 602.

"Descent into Hell," now in the Uffizi.[32] The woodcut that appears in the second edition of Vasari is of less interest, although it is evidently not apochryphal, and Baldinucci[33] states that Allori painted a portrait of Jacopo in the Montanti Chapel of the Annunziata. Waetzoldt[34] believed the figure to the extreme left in the Pitti "Adoration of the Magi" to be a likeness of our painter when he was a young man, and others have seen, in a Pontormo drawing[35] in the Uffizi, Jacopo's own features. Both conjectures are without foundation.

[32] *Ibid.*, VI, 289, note; VII, 599. The "Descent into Hell" was painted in 1552 for the Zanchini Chapel in Santa Croce; the portrait of Pontormo is mentioned by Vasari (VII, 599). Jacopo's is the face turned slightly to the right and seen just over the Saviour's right shoulder, that is to say, immediately to the left of the figure of Christ.

[33] *Notizie*, ed. 1812, IX, 521: "vedesi nella più alta parte dell' Istoria della disputa, presso al capitello della colonna, che fa fronte alla grossezza del muro, in persona d'un vecchio Jacopo da Pontormo." At the Reiset sale in 1870, a picture was sold which the catalogue describes as a "Portrait of Carucci by Himself," and a portrait, said to be of Pontormo by himself, was sent to the Royal Academy Loan Exhibition of 1877 by Lord Methuen. I am unacquainted with both these pictures. The woodcut from Vasari's second edition of the "Lives" was reprinted in the Milan edition of the same (1811, XII, 2), and by Müntz in his "Renaissance" (III, 499). Cf. also Dezallier d'Argenville, *Vie des plus fameux peintres* (1762), I, 49, eng., and Vasari (1760), pl. 135, eng. The right-hand figure in the double portrait, Louvre, No. 1508, commonly known as "Raphaël et son maitre d'armes," was believed in the seventeenth century to be a likeness of Pontormo. The identification is without foundation. The canvas, once given to Raphael himself, is ascribed to Giulio Romano by Berenson, to Sebastiano del Piombo by Waagen, to Polidoro da Caravaggio by Cavalcaselle. Cf. Duranty, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XV (1877), pp. 32, 34; Rosenberg and Gronau, *Raffael*, 4th ed., pp. 211, 252; Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*, 2d ed., p. 185; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Raffaello*, ed. Le Monnier, III, 414 f.; Passavant, *Raphaël d'Urbin*, II, 355-357, note; 294. For the provenance of the picture, see Engerand, *Inventaire*, Paris, 1899, pp. 20 ff.

[34] *Die Kunst des Porträts*, 1908, p. 345, fig. (photo. Reali).

[35] *Dessins*, p. 244. B. F. D., pl. CLXXIV. D. G. U., pl. XVIII.

CHAPTER IX

PORTRAITS

The various influences that reacted upon Pontormo's personality and combined, at times strangely, with successive phases of his creative instinct may also be traced in his portraits, for happily portraiture was with him, even in his youth, a favorite medium of expression. By its limitations and its possibilities it implied an art admirably suited to his peculiar temperament. But it would be idle to analyse his portraits separately, while to establish for them an exact chronology is practically impossible. In portraiture progressive variations of touch are always difficult to distinguish, and Pontormo's fidelity to the character of his sitter complicates the problem. Moreover, of the forty-seven portraits, paintings or drawings, that have come down to us only one is documented and dated: the "Portrait of Alessandro" in the Johnson Collection. And only this and the "Portrait of Cosimo il Vecchio" have even been identified.[1] To determine whether other portraits, ascribed or ascribable to Pontormo, are authentic or not requires that intimate knowledge of his touch and of his development which alone can help us to make an intelligible pattern out of what ignorance and the years have jumbled and in part destroyed. Here his portrait-drawings render an especial service. They betray their date by disclosing their relationship to other drawings, the date of which is known, and with their help we may thread the mazes of a difficult chronology.

The earliest portrait we possess is perhaps the "Engraver of Precious Stones" (fig. 10), once part of the collection of

[1] The "Portrait of Bartolommeo di Lorenzo Gualteretti," in the Johnson Collection, which is ascribed to Pontormo by Berenson, is dated 1550. I am not, however, of the opinion that it is an authentic Pontormo.

Louis XIV and now in the Louvre.[2] The drawing of the mouth, the nose, and the chin, the facial oval, and the heavy colour, obviously recall Andrea's "Portrait of Himself," which is now in the Uffizi.[3] But Pontormo's portrait is troubled and introspective; from it a personality looks out at us mysteriously, as from no portrait by Del Sarto. Although, like the "Portrait of a Man" now in Bonn,[4] which appears to have followed it at a short interval, it cannot have been painted later than in 1516, it demonstrates that Jacopo had even then the secret of laying bare his sitter's soul.

Within the next two years he painted the "Portrait of a Young Man" (fig. 41) of the Palazzo Bianco,[5] which catches so delightfully the self-conscious stiffness of a fashionable youth, and but a little later, the well-known "Portrait of Cosimo il Vecchio" (fig. 42).[6] This I place somewhat before the summer of 1518. It is an evident masterpiece, of powerful arrangement, beautiful colour, and intense interpretation. Iconographically it derived from one of the medals struck not long after Cosimo's death, and since it was painted for a secretary of Lorenzino's, Pontormo had of course to represent Cosimo in the guise of the great and saintly ancestor of the Medici. But how intimately and imaginatively Jacopo, with his subtle incisiveness of spirit, understood the fine craftiness, the pitiless penetration, and cunning self-satisfaction of the ailing old banker! What hands! How grasping, how alive! Cosimo seems to hold them tightly clasped before him for fear some violent animation in them betray his stealthy calm. He lives more vividly here than in any portrait painted during his lifetime.

The treatment of the features and of the spacing in these last two portraits owes something to such works of Piero di Cosimo as his "Portrait of a Warrior," of the National Gallery or his "Francesco Giamberti," now in The Hague.

[2] No. 1241.
[3] No. 1176.
[4] Provinzial Museum, No. 214.
[5] No. 6.
[6] Now in the Uffizi.

We have one other portrait that was painted before 1520 — the "Unknown Boy" (fig. 48) of Prince Trivulzio's collection. There are two portrait-drawings of the same period, a melancholy youth wrapped in a mantle (fig. 49; Uffizi 6682), to which we have referred elsewhere, and a strong study of a young artisan (fig. 38; Uffizi 452 F). The latter recalls the "Portrait of a Youth," now in Lucca, but was not drawn for it. To the years 1520-1525 no portrait can be assigned with certainty. The black-chalk sketch of an old woman in a mantle (Uffizi 6573) recalls the draped women of the frescoes at the Certosa but, like Uffizi 451 F, it can hardly be earlier than 1525.

While Jacopo was painting the Capponi Chapel and the works that immediately followed it (1525-1530), he executed several portraits that survive, among them the flower-like portrait-drawing of a young girl (fig. 101; Uffizi 449),[7] in which the line has qualities that characterize the best studies for Santa Felicita. One might assign to the same period a wistful drawing of a young boy (fig. 102; Uffizi 6667),[8] which discloses a rare understanding of child-life, but in which there is a certain serene transliteration of fact that sometimes tempts me to place it nearer to Poggio.

Sometime about 1528 Jacopo painted the beautiful "Portrait of a Youth" (fig. 115), now in Lucca.[9] This is one of his most characteristic and charming pictures. The long, upgrowing neck, the delicate oval of the face, the full, fine, bushy hair, the slightly turned, sidelong glance, the slim body delicately suggested in its great robe of silk, the simple but striking adjustment of the figure to the space, the clarity and ring of the colour, all are but elements of the finer art with which Pontormo felt the essential character, the sweet frankness of a fresh, young spirit.

The Bergamo portrait (fig. 116),[10] falsely called "Baccio Bandinelli," and the Uffizi[11] "Portrait of a Man" (fig. 118),

[7] *Dessins*, pp. 96 f.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 218.
[9] Pinacoteca, No. 75 (Sala I, No. 5).
[10] Morelli Collection, No. 59.
[11] No. 1220.

though dry in colour, are both of a Holbeinesque purity of drawing and of a fine severity. Like the exquisite "Portrait of a Girl as Lucretia" (fig. 119), now in the Borghese,[12] they date from just before 1530. With them belongs the "Portrait of a Man," in the Corsini[13] at Rome, which has completely lost by retouching its distinction and decision.

From the period of the siege and immediately thereafter, we have: the portrait-drawing of a young soldier (fig. 120), of rare economy of touch and of a clarity of interpretation recalling Ingres (Uffizi 463 F); an elaborate but tame three-quarters portrait-drawing of an artisan (Uffizi 6698),[14] which inspired Bronzino's "Portrait of Bartolommeo Panciatichi"; the "Portrait of Alessandro," now in Philadelphia (1534-1535);[15] the tense, clean-cut profile[16] that is now called "The Canon Castiglione" (fig. 125).

Between 1534 and 1540 I place a group of fair women, panels that are among the highest achievements of the Florentine School in portraiture. No other Tuscan attained such rare, light harmony of tone, such graciously ample arrangement of space, such dignity and simplicity and ease, together with such subtlety, breadth, and wealth of suggestion of the sitter's social sphere, her inheritance, and her intelligence. Most of all no Florentine, except Leonardo, so drew up the yearning, unquiet spirit to the eyes and made an unmistakable, but almost unseizable, vibration of personality play about the mouth. These are women of proud family and of long lineage. Yet, in their lovely but simple dresses, with their gold chains, their rings, their embossed books, their little dogs, how human they seem to us, how frank and secretly confiding! Here must be placed such masterpieces as the "Portrait of a Young Woman" (fig. 128), in the Dirksen Collection, in Berlin, the alert and speaking "Portrait of a Girl" (fig. 127), in Frankfort,[17] the

[12] No. 75.

[13] No. 577.

[14] *Dessins*, pp. 106, 244.

[15] Johnson Collection, No. 83.

[16] Pitti, No. 249.

[17] Städel Institute, No. 14 a.

"Portrait of a Lady with a Volume of Verse" (fig. 131), once in the Yerkes Collection and erroneously ascribed to Bronzino. To these years also belong the "Young Girl with a Carnation Hung over Her Ear" of the Widener Collection, a portrait that resembles those just mentioned but which from repainting has become stiff and blank, as well as two fine portrait-drawings: the one (Uffizi 17769),[18] aristocratic, though a trifle hard in its refinement; the other (Uffizi 414),[19] which was long ascribed to Leonardo, big, broad, and full of good-humoured complacency.

These panels and drawings were closely followed by the oval "Portrait of a Woman in Green" (fig. 129), in the Grand-ducal Gallery of Oldenburg,[20] skilfully arranged, magnificently large, and of broad spiritual insight. Of the same date are the dry but firm study, Uffizi 6680;[21] the badly proportioned drawing of a bishop (Uffizi 443 verso), perhaps for the now lost portrait of Ardinghelli; the somewhat dull, though quite correct, red-chalk study of a boy in a mantle with a flute (Uffizi 443).[22] Here one should place the "Portrait of Cardinal Spannocchi Cervini" (fig. 130), the Sienese prelate who was afterwards Pope Marcellus — a panel which, before Morelli's time, was held to be by Raphael.[23] And here, too, belongs the grave and penetrating "Portrait of Bartolomeo Compagni" (fig. 126), now in the Stirling Collection. In it the accessories are of an almost painfully scrupulous naturalism. The effect of the whole, however, with its broad distribution of masses is of a dignity, a quietness, quite undeniably Pontormo's own.

Even during the last years of his life, while he slaved in the solitude of the San Lorenzo choir, his mind all preoccupied with a new idealism, Pontormo had, when he faced a definite model, an eye unswervingly loyal to the essentially significant in character. A masterful and uncompromising human document, raised above mere stupid transcription into that realm of

[18] *Dessins*, pp. 288 f.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[20] No. 19.
[21] *Dessins*, p. 230.
[22] *Idem*, pp. 93 f.
[23] Borghese Gallery, No. 408.

intellectual clarity in which the best of Pontormo's art moves, is the "Portrait of an Old Lady" (fig. 150), now in Vienna.[24] Here, as in the severely simple "Portrait of a Lady" (fig. 151), in the Jacquemart-André Collection, Jacopo's study of his sitter's personality is still indefatigable and searching. Pontormo could never have painted the "Mona Lisa." His limitations and inequalities become only too obvious when his achievement, even in portraiture, is compared with a work upon which a mind as unparalleled in depth and scope as Leonardo's has left a record of its own unique experience. He had neither the supreme quality of accumulated vision necessary for such an understanding, nor the unapproachable cunning of hand. His was an intuitive intelligence, an instinctive penetration, which, at its best, leaves upon the faces of his people an indefinable and appealing wistfulness that makes Bronzino's portraits seem hollow and uncommunicative, Andrea's monotonously literal, Ghirlandaio's wooden, and even the greater portraits of the Quattrocento lacking in all inner animation. But quite apart from any limitations that one may feel in Pontormo's portraits, when one compares them with the greatest masterpieces, and quite apart too from any artistic superiority that they may claim when one sets them beside the works of his predecessors or contemporaries, they have, in the history of this province of painting, an importance that has been hitherto unrecognized. It cannot, however, be long before it will be clear to all students of Florentine civilization that one legacy, in the long inheritance left by those minds that have re-created the visible world in the plastic arts, one aspect of our present vision of ourselves, has undoubtedly its source in him. This contribution to our visual memory passed from Jacopo to Bronzino and, popularized by him, found its way through certain Italians who worked in Spain, and through Flemish artists like Antonio Moro[25] who worked in Italy, into

[24] Gemäldegalerie, No. 48.

[25] For the influence of Pontormo, through Bronzino, upon Antonio Moro, cf. the "Portrait of William of Orange" (Cassel, No. 37) which Antonio painted in 1555-1556; the "Portrait of a Youth in Armour," dating from about 1560, lately in the Ehrich Galleries, New York, and now in the St. Louis Museum; and the "Portrait of a Princess,"

our general tradition of form. It was Jacopo who first transformed portraiture by seeing it in terms of Michelangelo's heroic vision and it was Jacopo who, in recording the appearance of his sitters, first sought to combine a massive imaginative simplicity and dignity of presentation with an intangible evocation of individual character.

painted in 1577, which was once in the collection of the Baron de Beurnonville (1881), and later in that of la Baronne de H***, for a reproduction of which, see *Catalogue de la Collection de la feue Baronne de H****, Georges Petit, June, 1904, p. 28.

CHAPTER X

LAST YEARS: HIS LIFE FROM DAY TO DAY

Numerous passages[1] in Vasari's "Life of Pontormo" give us an idea of his personal appreciation of Jacopo as an artist and as a man. The clever Aretine, who was a favourite of princes and by nature a courtier, was hardly the person to understand Pontormo's shrinking and detached spirit. For all his kindly sympathy, he could not but deplore Jacopo's aloofness, his indifference to the patronage of the great, his waywardness, and his hesitations. It was a pity, he thought, to let slip heedlessly a chance to finish the Great Hall at Poggio.[2] Vasari did not understand Jacopo's whole-hearted devotion to his art. Even though he admits it was no lack of ability that made Pontormo procrastinate,[3] and that once decided how a thing should be done his manner of working showed no vacillation, it is quite apparent Vasari did not realize that Jacopo never put his hand to an undertaking without first solving the problem of its conception and execution.

In a letter to Varchi Pontormo himself gives us a whimsical account of his attitude towards painting. This letter[4] explains much. Jacopo felt the underlying principle of sculpture and painting to be design — a term that he uses in its widest sense, and that for him includes invention, composition, and the rendering of the figure. Sculpture, he thought, is eternal; painting, transitory. And he wittily compares the former to "panno fine," the latter to "panno accotonato dell' inferno." On the other hand, the mere durability of the stuff of sculpture,

[1] VI, 249, 271, 285, 287.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 289.
[4] Bottari, *Raccolta di lettere*, Milan, 1822, I, 20-25. See Appendix II, Doc. 32.

the time-resisting bronze or stone, is after all a quality that even unquarried rocks have, while the eternity to which genius attains resides in a profound creative impulse and in the conquest of inert material. He keenly felt the mere physical difficulties of the practice of sculpture or painting, and from this point of view, painting is for him the more marvellous art. Does it not, with slighter means, attempt a larger task? With mere colours and a flat surface, does the painter not realize, by an artifice, nature, its colours, lights, shadows, diversities — air, cloud, landscape, houses, men, and animals — everything various, harmonious, and graceful, in the multitudinous appearances of things? This vying with nature Jacopo felt to be a fine audacity. Still finer, the daring that, by arranging and harmonizing images taken from nature, transfigures and makes them more beautiful than nature is herself!

The playful, philosophic aloofness of this letter manifested itself in Jacopo's daily life. He was an unworldly and solitary spirit. Vasari hints that some of his contemporaries even found him unsociable and mean. Certainly he cultivated no luxuries of dress or food or change. His little house was without extravagance or pretence, and it had, to use Vasari's[5] expression, "era di casamento da uomo fantastico e solitario."

Like Michelangelo and Leonardo, he never married. His work he loved, not what it brought him. Poor as he was, he sought no commissions from the rich.[6] And when he had work to do, he closed his door even to his intimates. This we know from his diary, for one day he writes: "Domenica fu pichiato da Bronzino e poi il di da Daniello. Non so quello che si volessino."

Vasari appreciated his rectitude of spirit and defends him against the accusation that, in allowing the "Venus" to be sold to Alessandro, he did not treat Bettini fairly. He protests against gossip, once current in Florence, that Jacopo was vain and proud because he had been chosen to paint the choir of San Lorenzo.[7] Vasari knew that nothing was more foreign to

[5] VI, 279.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

the modest spirit of his friend than insolent words or a high-handed manner.

We owe much of our knowledge of Pontormo's personality to Vasari's kindly interest, but for a profounder insight into his peculiar character we must turn to his diary (fig. 152).[8] Of this precious document we have only a fragment that begins with the year 1554, when the entries are few, and continues at irregular intervals to within a month and a half of his death.

Nothing could be more direct, more completely without pose, than these pages, which sound as if in them he communed with his own memory. They evoke an image of his life from day to solitary day, with its labour, its illnesses, its isolation, and its simple pleasures — the humble life of an artist and a workman, "costumato e virtuoso." Here is the naked psychology of the man, parsimoniously traced, naïve, concise, and never distorted even by a desire to define his own states of mind. As a record it is therefore of unique value. It has no literary flavour and betrays no preoccupation except that of setting down for himself, and for their own sake, his daily experiences.

Sometimes he merely names the days as they pass, days perhaps when he pondered over the frescoes in San Lorenzo, or mute pointless days of inertia and lassitude. Frequently he mentions what he accomplished: "Today I worked on the death's head with a beard"; or "Today I finished the arm of the figure that stands like this." And in the margin he draws a little sketch, the shorthand of the image in his mind. These marginal sketches (fig. 152) correspond to drawings of his, now in the Uffizi (fig. 153), and we can state — curious fact in the life of a painter dead three hundred and fifty years — that on

[8] See Appendix III. Cf. Colasanti, *Bull. soc. filol. rom.*, II, 35-59. Fabriczy, *Das Tagebuch Jacopos da Pontormo, Repertorium*, XXVI (1903), 95 f. Apropos of a letter from Cosimo I to Bronzino (Pisa, February 11, 1565), in regard to the latter's frescoes in San Lorenzo, of which only the "Martyrdom of San Lorenzo" was finished, Gaye (III, 166-169) quotes a fragment of Pontormo's Diary from an incomplete sixteenth century copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence (No. 621 [331-E, 5, 6, 32]). His excerpt begins: "addi 11 di Marzo 1554," and ends: "Sabato quella testa della figura che è sotto ch' sta così." The original of the Diary is in the same library, Miscellanea magliabecchiana, Catalogo VIII, 1490.

such and such a day Pontormo frescoed a given figure on the walls of San Lorenzo.

We see him going to work before dawn; we see him applying with his own hands the plaster to the walls; we see him struggling with the material difficulties of the work. Once he writes when he comes home tired: "Tonight my back aches from standing bent backwards all day long." Or again: "Today I did again the head of the figure below the windows — that was a piece of work to remember!" Sometimes he speaks of drawings that he has made or colours that he has prepared. And in reading we get a strangely lucid image of how day succeeded day and, bit by bit, the long solitary work went forward.

He notes his troubles with his "fattore." Too ill to go out himself, Jacopo sends him for a "fiasco" of wine. The wretched man tells him that hereafter he can do his own errands! And that evening he supped on a bunch of grapes. Again he remarks: "My Battista has gone off for the day and has not come back though he knows I am ill and will have to keep him in mind all the time." Battista was his pupil Naldini, who was a foundling of the Hospital of the Innocents and who was, it would seem, adopted by Pontormo sometime late in the forties. We watch the heartless boy tease the old man for two long days, saying he will go away and never come back again. Once Jacopo pathetically remarks: "Thursday, that was the day when Battista locked himself in his room and refused to eat." One evening (March, 1556) Bronzino asked his old master to dinner and he refused to go. They quarrelled, and that night Jacopo wrote bitter things in his diary, but afterwards crossed them out.

He notices the changes of the weather — bright days or bleak rainy days when he suffered from the cold. He speaks of his dinners and suppers with Bronzino or "Daniello." These were chiefly on Sundays. Sometimes for long periods he saw no one. Then again, day in and day out, he took his meals with one of his friends, and they were, we may believe, kind to the caprices of the solitary, morose old man. We learn of his rare

days of recreation — holidays when he went to walk with Piero or Angelo or with all their little circle, at Monte Oliveto or San Miniato or San Domenico. We learn of still rarer nights at the tavern or the theatre. We hear of visits to the friars on business, of the gift of game that he promised to his friends, the "pane di ramerino" and the fifty figs that they gave him, the wine that he bottled, the peaches he planted, the chair and the coverlet he bought.

Frequently we read of his illnesses, particularly of one long illness during which Bronzino took him in and nursed him, and of the accident that befell him of being struck by a cart. When ill he records naïvely all his symptoms — his colds, his fevers, his indigestions and nauseas, his frequent fasts. He sets down rules for right living, especially in the spring, and promises himself not to overeat.

Most of all he notes what he eats, even the precise number of ounces of bread, the exact number of figs. His food was of a touching simplicity, and he prepared it himself. It was the food of the Italian artisan: eggs, bread, cheese, wine, salad, fruit, "pesce d'uovo," "pasta." Now and then, he has a little mutton, once some that Battista buys for him and of which he remarks, "one wouldn't have given it to the dogs." At long intervals he speaks of rarer things, "ucellini" or "crespelli mirabili," which he remembers with enjoyment. But generally he was extraordinarily frugal and abstemious.

These pages are full of the flavour of solitude, simple living, and arduous labour. To what went on around him Jacopo pays little attention. Twice he mentions that the Duke came to San Lorenzo, and that once the Duchess also came. He speaks of the feast[9] of the "Tregua," of the picture Bronzino sent to Pisa, of a head of Sandrino's that he went to see, visits from Luca Martini, a sonnet that Varchi sent him.

We know his friends, the little circle of men who spent their leisure together, Bronzino, Piero, Daniello, Luca Martini,

[9] The famous truce between the Emperor and the King of France that was published in Siena, March 26, 1556.

Varchi, Ottaviano,[10] and, more rarely, Pucci and Strozzi. With them we see two women, Alessandra and Maria. Once too he mentions dining alone with Borghini,[11] the "priore dell' Ospedale."

In so solitary a life, to a nature so intense and lonely as his,[12] the training of pupils was impossible. What was best in his art was too personal to be easily imitated, too subtle and too various to become a canon to young artists. On the other hand, no artist, no matter how talented, could have formed a school in Florence at a moment when all art had become Michelangelesque. As far as their influence on others went, Pontormo's rare gifts were largely wasted. The decadence had begun. It was almost in vain he gave to the world scores of drawings, the best of which must finally rank with Michelangelo's and Leonardo's, a whole gallery of splendid portraits, a perfect specimen of decoration at Poggio, a lyric altar-piece at Santa Felicita. The decorative beauty that these last two works reveal, their lightness, their freshness, left his contemporaries only half convinced. Still less convinced were they by the heroic and mysterious symbolism of the San Lorenzo choir.

An artist of his genius could not, of course, even in the later Renaissance, escape having imitators. To his early work Rosso owed much in the "Marriage of St. Catherine," in San Lorenzo (1523), the "Deposition," at Volterra (1521), the "Doni Altar-piece" (1522), now in the Pitti, the "St. John," now at Dijon. Rosso's draughtsmanship is merely a hard, extravagant variant of our master's first manner. Andrea also, to whom Pontormo's debt was great, shows here and there as

[10] Not, of course, Ottaviano de' Medici, the patron of the arts to whom Vasari frequently alludes and who died in 1546 and was buried in San Lorenzo.

[11] Cf. Vasari, VI, 289.

[12] Bocchi (*op. cit.*, pp. 18 f.) says that Pontormo was excessively melancholy and that in order to attain a greater realism for his "Deluge" in San Lorenzo he kept dead bodies in troughs of water to make them swell, the stench of which troubled the whole neighbourhood. The latter part of this story is a direct contradiction of Vasari's statement (VI, 289) that Jacopo was inordinately afraid of death and would not let anyone mention it in his presence: "fu tanto pauroso della morte, che non voleva, non che altro, udirne ragionare, e fuggiva l'avere a incontrare morti."

in the "putti" of the two "Assumptions" in the Pitti, faint traces of the counter-influence of Jacopo's art. Granacci liberally borrowed form and colour from our painter in such pictures as his "Scenes from the Life of Joseph." Bacchiacca pieced out his patchwork with many a shape of Jacopo's invention, and Bugiardini had in mind a Pontormo drawing (the meaning of which he was too dull to understand), when he executed the "Young St. John," now in Bologna. Vasari made drawings of the Certosa frescoes,[13] consulted Jacopo[14] about his own "Portrait of Alessandro,"[15] and had our master help him with the cartoons[16] for the "Battle of Val di Chiana." In his full-length portraits of Cosimo il Vecchio and Cosimo I,[17] he imitated Pontormo so closely that they were long considered to be the latter's work. With lesser men, like Lappoli[18] and Pichi,[19] Jacopo's pupils for a time, we are hardly concerned. They were crass imitators of whatever creative instinct they came in contact with momentarily. Neither is it worth while to study here Cristofano dell' Altissimo[20] who belongs to a later generation and owed more to Bronzino than to our painter. The feeble journeyman who painted the "Madonna and Saints," in the Municipio at Città di Castello,[21] or the painter of the "Presentation in the Temple," now in Dijon, we leave in their obscurity.

Bronzino (1503-1572)[22] was really Pontormo's only pupil. And it is one of fate's strange extravagances that for centuries

[13] VII, 605.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 657.

[15] Uffizi, No. 1281.

[16] Vasari, VII, 716.

[17] See the Catalogue Raisonné, under Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. The influence of Pontormo's work at San Lorenzo may be seen in the figure of a bald, bearded saint in his "Coronation of the Virgin," in Città di Castello (photo. Alinari).

[18] Vasari, VI, 7.

[19] *Ibid.*, 5-16, 259. Milanesi mistakes Pichi for Giovanmaria Butteri (1550-1606) who was a pupil of Bronzino (VI, 6, note). Cf. Baldinucci, X, 144.

[20] Vasari says (VII, 608) that Cristofano was a pupil first of Pontormo and then of Bronzino.

[21] *Catalogo della pinacoteca comunale di Città di Castello,* p. 7.

[22] Vasari, VI, 6, 289; VII, 593 f. Bronzino was, according to Vasari (IV, 241), originally a pupil of Raffaellino del Garbo.

he has been by far the more famous of the two, although he was infinitely less gifted than his master. But, as court painter he was much employed by the Medici, and numerous copies of his portraits of Cosimo I, of Eleonora, and of their children, produced in his "bottega," and as gifts scattered by the Grand Duke and his descendants all over Europe, served to give Jacopo's conscientious disciple a renown out of all proportion to his merits. His reliable, pedestrian character made him a favourite with Cosimo and his satellites who preferred to capricious creativeness, work finished with diligence and dispatch. But every fine quality — dignity, repose, spaciousness, impressiveness, and simplicity — that one finds in the best of Bronzino's portraits is derived directly from his master's art. In the "Portrait of Ugolino Martelli," and in the Panciatichi portraits, our contention is made clear. These, by their elegance, by their intense grasp of the sitter's psychology, by the charm with which they are posed, by the modelling of the cheeks and the eyes, and by the large-jointed bony character of the hands, owe their inspiration to Pontormo's work in portraiture between 1518 and 1534. A glance at Pontormo's "Portrait of a Lady with a Volume of Verse," once in the Yerkes Collection, his "Alessandro," in Philadelphia, the "Portrait of Youth," in Genoa,[23] his drawing of an artisan in the Uffizi,[24] suffices to prove our point.

After 1540 Bronzino got nothing new from Jacopo. He merely hardened the formula that he had learned between 1530 and 1540 and chilled its colour. He lost, as he lost touch with Pontormo's work, the insight into his sitter's character he had once had. Even in his delightful portraits of the Medici children, he had already substituted expression for interpre-

[23] How closely Bronzino's early work in portraiture resembled Pontormo's is strikingly exemplified by his portrait, said to represent the Duchess Anna Strozzi (wood, .73 x .57, with the inscription A LWI above and to the right), which was once in the Dollfus Collection (No. 46), and which was sold in 1912 to M. du Bonneval. A reproduction of this panel may be seen in the *Catalogue des tableaux anciens; Collections de M. Jean Dollfus*, Paris, 1912, p. 58. The same intimate relation between master and pupil may be observed in Bronzino's "Portrait of a Young Woman," sold at the Ehrich Galleries, New York, on March 21, 1906.

[24] Uffizi 6698. Cf. *Dessins*, pp. 243 f.

tation. These date from the end of the forties and the beginning of the fifties. By 1555 he had arrived at the unresponsive stiffness of "Eleonora and Her Son," now in the Uffizi. Out of the great qualities once reflected upon him he had evolved for himself a permanent manner.

Bronzino's early religious pictures are rare. Like his early portraits they owe all their interest to our master. His later mythological and religious paintings are quite crassly and confusedly Michelangelesque.

His drawings also are of an extreme rarity. In addition to those pointed out by Berenson, I have identified two others, one[25] for the "Deluge," in the Chapel of Eleonora, in the Palazzo Vecchio, the other[26] for the Infant Jesus of the Pitti "Holy Family." Both date from after 1550. They are dry, tame, uncertain variants of drawings that Jacopo made between 1535 and 1545.[27] Even Vasari realized how poor a draughtsman Bronzino was.

Quite other was Pontormo's influence upon his adopted son, Battista Naldini. This brilliant young draughtsman imitated chiefly, and with extraordinary ease and bravura, his master's early manner, the manner which sketches for the Visdomini altar-piece and for the Borgherini panels illustrate most decisively. It is not surprising, then, that Pontormo's early drawings have at times[28] been confused with Naldini's, or that, still more frequently, Naldini's[29] have been catalogued as Jacopo's. Other sketches of Battista's have, as Berenson has observed, long passed as Andrea's, while some of his red-chalk studies have borne even Michelangelo's name. After 1557, when Pontormo was no longer alive to counsel him, Naldini's draughtsmanship became hideously academic. His paintings are painfully feeble, and in them only figures

[25] Uffizi 6704. Cf. *Dessins*, pp. 248 f.

[26] Uffizi 6639. Cf. *Dessins*, p. 199.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 49 f.

[28] Uffizi 7452. Cf. *Dessins*, p. 281.

[29] Uffizi 6524; 6566; Louvre 1019(?). Cf. *Dessins*, pp. 130, 157, 328. Naldini worked at one time with Vasari on the frescoes of the Great Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio. Cf. Vasari, VII, 99.

borrowed here and there from Pontormo indicate attenuated traces of our master's practice.

More than twenty-five years after his death, Pontormo's influence was also felt by Empoli. This facile workman made various copies of Jacopo's pictures, notably of the Certosa frescoes and of the "Supper at Emmaus." Still later, towards the end of the century, Cigoli now and then imitated our painter, and Andrea Boscoli[30] drew inspiration from his drawings for many a sketch of his own.[31]

[30] Two drawings (Uffizi 457 and 464) by Boscoli have been falsely attributed to Pontormo. Cf. *Dessins*, pp. 101, 106.

[31] Giovanni Stradano imitated Pontormo in the "Nativity of the Virgin," which he painted in 1583 in the chapel of the Villa Pazzi at Perugiano, near Montemurlo. Cf. a cut in the *Rassegna d' arte*, XIV (1914), p. 254. Zacchia of Lucca (d. 1561), although generally a late imitator of Fra Bartolommeo, shows at times, as in his "Portrait of a Man," in the Louvre, that he was not without knowledge of Pontormo's work in portraiture.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF
AUTHENTIC FRESCOES AND PICTURES

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF
AUTHENTIC FRESCOES AND PICTURES

ASHBOURNE NEAR PHILADELPHIA

Widener Collection

172. PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Half-length; turned slightly to the left. She has a fair complexion, dark brown eyes that look at the spectator; her yellowish brown hair is rolled up in a black net with pearl ornaments. She wears a bottle-green dress cut low with puffed sleeves and a muslin fichu. A necklace of black stones and a gold chain hang round her shoulders; over her left ear she has placed a carnation; in her lap sits a small greyish white terrier. The background is a shallow niche, grey to the left and behind her left shoulder, and black over her right shoulder and to the extreme right.

Oil on wood (heavily cradled). H. .56, w. 44.

From the collection of the Duke Sigismund Frantz, Castle Ambras (Austria); acquired as a Bronzino; first correctly ascribed to Pontormo by Berenson. The modelling of the eye, the nostrils and the mouth, as well as the very characteristic shape of the ear, vividly recall the "Portrait of a Lady," in the Jacquemart-André Collection. The little dogs of these two pictures resemble one another closely. A portrait having certain affinities with the present panel and ascribed correctly to Bronzino formed part of the Fischhof Collection (*Catalogue de Tableaux composant la Collection de M. Eugène Fischhof,* Georges Petit, 1913, p. 124; fig., p. 125).

Condition: repainted on the face, neck, and shoulders.
Date: 1534-1545.

Reprod. Photo. for the collector; catalogue cited below, pl. facing p. 172.

Bibl. *Catalogue of Paintings Forming the Private Collection of P. A. B. Widener, Ashbourne, Near Philadelphia,* Paris: Manzi, Joyant & Co., 1900, II, 172.

BERGAMO

Morelli Collection

59. PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH

Bust figure turned three-quarters left. He is beardless and has brown curly hair, thin arched eyebrows, wide-set hazel eyes, the right slightly smaller than the left, thickish nose and pouting lips, and a large-lobed ear. He wears a black velvet cap, doublet and embroidered linen collar. Background, greenish grey.

Oil on wood. H. .46, w. .37.

Provenance unknown. Morelli believed it to be a portrait of Baccio Bandinelli because of its resemblance to a print said to represent the sculptor. His identification seems to be unfounded. Bandinelli was born, according to the Libro de' Battezzati, on October 7, 1488, or, according to Libro III dell' Età, on November 12, 1493. Therefore, if the panel is a likeness of Bandinelli it must have been executed between 1506 and 1511, since the person it represents can hardly have been more than eighteen when it was painted. The picture is, however, a strikingly characteristic example of Jacopo's work in portraiture between 1528 and 1532. Bandinelli was then at least thirty-five or at most forty-four years of age.

Condition: excellent; slightly retouched about the forehead and the hair.

Date: 1528-1532.

Reprod. Fig. 116; photo. Taramelli 305; photo. Istituto d'Arti Grafiche; fig., Frizzoni, *Gallerie dell' Accademia Carrara,* Bergamo, 1907, p. 67; small cut, Reinach, *Répert.,* III, 756.

Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 174; Frizzoni, *La Galleria Morelli in Bergamo,* Bergamo, 1892, p. 18; *idem,* catalogue cited above.

BERLIN

Von Dirksen Collection

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Three-quarter length. She is seated on a marble seat against a wall; the torse and legs turned three-quarters left, the head three-quarters right; the knees crossed. Her left elbow rests on a raised ledge, her left hand touching the elaborately woven cord of her belt that lies across her lap; her right hand rests upon her knees and holds a small book, the index finger between the leaves. Her hair is parted in the middle and, brushed back smoothly from the forehead, is wound around the back of the head in a thick roll covered with a jewelled net ornamented with a small brooch at the centre. In front of this net a chased gold fillet encircles the head. She wears a gown cut square at the neck, with large puffed sleeves. These are of velvet from elbow to wrist, close-fitting and trimmed with two bands of fur; a little ruche at the wrist. The bodice is trimmed with velvet bands. The neck and shoulders are covered by a white chemisette with an embroidered collar tied with a small black ribbon. Around her neck, a knotted chain from which hangs a little cross. Around her waist, and falling across her lap, a girdle with intricate knots and tassel. The book has ribbon clasps. On the lower ledge of the bench to the right, a pair of gloves decorated with little bows. The background, a shallow niche with a pilaster on either side.

This portrait is closely related, in general conception, composition and modelling, to the "Portrait of a Young Woman with a Dog," in the Städel Institute, in Frankfort, but in spirit it is graciously wistful while the latter is robustly frank.

Date: 1534-1545.
Reprod. Fig. 128.
Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 174.

BOLDRONE

WAY-SIDE SHRINE

In the centre, raised above the other figures, the Christ crucified. His hair is auburn, his loin-cloth, purple, the cross, bright yellow. To the right of the cross stands St. John turned three-quarters left, his head nearly full face, his right arm extended downward at his side, his left slightly raised; weight on the right leg, the left leg bent. He wears a full purple mantle. To his right, St. Augustine, torse full face, his head turned three-quarters left; in his right hand, a red crosier; in his left, a red book. He wears a voluminous light green vestment with purple tunic. To the left Mary stands,

turned three-quarters right, her hands clasped. Her robe is light purple. To her left, St. Julian, torse nearly full face, his head in profile looking up at the Crucified. He holds in his right hand a great sword the point of which rests on the ground. His hair is brown, his ample mantle, red with yellow sleeves.

Fresco. The altar wall is 1.70 wide, the side-walls, which meet it at an angle of about 30°, are 1.18 wide. The Christ, Mary and St. John occupy the altar wall, the other two saints, a side-wall each.

Near Florence, above Quarto, at the corner of Via dell'Osservatorio, Via Andrea del Sarto and Via Domenico Cirillo. Mentioned by Vasari who implies that this shrine was undertaken shortly after Pontormo finished the Capponi Chapel. In the figures he finds a trace of Jacopo's German manner. The composition is however of a simplicity quite unlike the Passion frescoes, although the types recall those of the Certosa.

Condition: ruined in Milanesi's time; broken open and uncared for now; in a few years no trace of it will be left.

Date: 1526-1527.

Drawing: possible sketch (reversed) for the Madonna, Uffizi 459 verso.

Documents: We do not know who paid for this work. It is, of course, not impossible that the neighbouring Benedictine nuns may have given Jacopo the commission, but I have examined the following records of their monastery (San Giovanni Evangelista di Boldrone) without finding any reference to this fresco: A. S. F., Convento 32, Giornale 2, 1513-1526; 3, 1523-1554; 4, 1535-1542; Entrata e Uscita, 20, 1503-1513; 21, 1526-1534; Debitori e Creditori, 47, 1528-1548; Contratti, 60, 1502-1774; 61, 1529-1665; Ricordi, 76, 1528-1564.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.; the San Giuliano is reproduced in Goldschmidt's *Pontormo, Rosso und Bronzino.*

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 272; *Dessins,* pp. 35, 70, 103.

BONN

Provinzial Museum

University Collection

214. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

A little less than life-size; nearly half-length; turned three-quarters left. He is beardless with traces of a moustache and wears a four-cornered brown-black hat and a greyish black coat. Behind him hangs a green curtain looped up on the right. The background, a warm dark grey.

Oil on wood. H. .61, w. .43 (catalogue, h. .63, w. .44).

Provenance unknown; bequeathed with the Solly Collection (1821) to the University; once exhibited in Berlin (No. 239). The colour should be compared with that of the "Portrait of a Precious-Stone Engraver," in the Louvre. The present panel is considered by Berenson and Bryan to be a portrait of Andrea del Sarto but there is no ground for such an identification. Andrea's features are well known from his numerous portraits of himself. This portrait can not have been painted earlier than 1517 and the personage represented does not appear to be more than twenty years old. Andrea was twenty in 1506.

Condition: darkened by successive varnishings but otherwise undamaged.

Date: about 1517.

Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 174 (under Berlin); *Führer durch das Provinzialmuseum in Bonn,* Bonn, 1913, II, 71; *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie,* Bonn, 1914, pp. 102 f.; F. Knapp, *Das Florentiner Cinquecento,* p. 8; Waagen, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde-Sammlung des königlichen Museums zu Berlin,* 1841, p. 101; cf. also the Berlin catalogues of 1883 and 1898.

BORGO SAN SEPOLCRO

Municipio

ST. QUENTIN

Nude figure turned slightly to the left. His arms are raised; his haloed head gazes up; his hands and feet are fixed in a pillory and a long spike is driven through his body from the right side of the neck; spikes are also driven under the nails of each hand. His loin-cloth is red. The standards of the pillory are brown and are locked with hinges to the base. On the crosspiece that holds his feet is inscribed: S. QVINTINVS. The background is a landscape of trees and hills. To the extreme right a tiny figure, in red tights and red hat, climbs a hill. He holds a spear and points at the spectator. To the left an old man, who leans upon a cross, walks away towards the right.

Oil on coarse canvas. H. 1.63, w. 1.03.

Mentioned by Vasari. This picture, which was begun by Giovanmaria Pichi for the Osservanti of Borgo San Sepolcro, was so completely rehandled by Pontormo that, except in the painting of the scaffold and the loin-cloth, we can hardly distinguish any other touch than his. It was originally hung in the church of San Francesco in Borgo San Sepolcro but,

when the Osservanza was suppressed in 1880-1882, it was transported to the Municipio.

Condition: stretched somewhat out of shape; torn across the top and sewn together; badly cracked under the saint's arm; the surface chipped off here and there.

Date: about 1526.

Drawing: for the head of the saint, a pen and bistre sketch of great promptitude of hand, Uffizi 6647 verso (fig. 91; photo. Houghton), which Berenson thinks was drawn for the Madonna of the "Deposition" at Santa Felicita.

Documents: The earliest books of the convent, still preserved, date from 1797.

Reprod. Fig. 90 (detail); photo. F. M. C.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 259; B. F. D., II, 148; B. F. P. R., p. 174; *Dessins*, p. 203; *On Certain Drawings*, p. 13.

CARMIGNANO

Parish Church

VISITATION

On the right: Elizabeth, profile to left, in light green dress, orange mantle verging on pink in the shadow, head-dress cream-colour with green lights. Next to Elizabeth and to the left: the head of a woman seen facing; drapery, olive-green. Facing Elizabeth, and profile to right: the Virgin; reddish hair, mantle blue-green, head-dress and sleeve light pink passing over into purple. Behind the Virgin and to the left: a woman facing; light red hair, pinkish purple mantle, dark green scarf on head and right shoulder, sleeve a lighter green. Background: a street with palaces; on the right, slate-colour below, pinkish grey above. On the left: palaces of purplish grey, on a bench in front of which two tiny figures seated.

Oil on wood. H. 2.02, w. 1.56.

On the second altar, to the right on entering the church. This panel is not mentioned by Vasari. It was painted in all probability for the Pinadori who had great estates around Carmignano and who are frequently cited in the account-books of the Medici and in those of the Hospital of the Innocents. It formerly hung, it would seem, in their villa (Bocchi, ed. Cinelli, p. 286). The composition was perhaps suggested by Dürer's "Die Vier Nackten Frauen" (1497); the St. Elizabeth, by his "Nemesis" reversed. The features of the woman

whose head we see between the Virgin and St. Elizabeth recalls Pontormo's "Portrait of an Old Lady," now in Vienna (No. 48) — a portrait which is however later than the present panel.

Condition: excellent; practically untouched, although slightly dimmed with altar-smoke.

Date: 1528-1530.

Drawing: finished study for the whole composition, Uffizi 461 (fig. 112; photo. Philpots 1391; Alinari 687; F. M. C.; fig., article cited below, p. 15).

Reprod. Fig. 111; photo. Reali; fig., article cited below; fig., Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*

Bibl. Bocchi, p. 286; Gamba, *Rivista d'arte,* II (1904), 13-18; B. F. P. R., p. 174; *Dessins,* pp. 104 f.

CERTOSA

San Lorenzo al Monte

THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN

On the left Christ kneels, seen from behind, dressed in a reddish purple mantle. To the left and right of him, St. James and St. John; in the foreground, St. Peter. Peter wears a pale blue shirt, John, a yellowish green shirt and wine-coloured mantle, James, a yellow shirt and Venetian red mantle. To the right, a group of soldiers led by Judas who has red hair and wears a Venetian red mantle. The crowd, which is made up of white, red, and purple helmets and caps, is brought out by touches of the same purple as Christ's robe. The background is a pale yellow-green hilly country crowned, on the left by a castle which is yellow catching the light, on the right by towers, battlements, houses, and walls of a drab-grey colour.

Fresco. Arched, h. 3.00, w. 2.90.

In the large cloister, at the near end (on entering) of the left side-wall and next to the "Christ before Pilate." Vasari says that the present fresco was the first that Pontormo painted at Certosa and that in it he attempted an effect of moonlight with excellent results. Vasari found, however, that in the figures Jacopo's earlier manner was obscured by his imitation of Dürer. Closer study does, in fact, reveal that the composition is practically identical with that of Dürer's woodcut "Christus am Oelberg" (1509-1511). The background is perhaps an idealized view of the Porta Romana of Florence.

Condition: Even by the beginning of the eighteenth century (Borghini, ed. 1730, p. 394, n. 2) all of Pontormo's work in the cloister of the Certosa had already suffered much from the weather. The present composition is now more deplorably ruined and repainted than any of the other frescoes. The plaster has fallen in a number of places.

Date: 1522-1523.

Documents: According to Giornale L. payments were made to Pontormo by the monks of the Certosa on the following dates: February 28, 1524; April 16, 1524; September 20, 1524; December 3, 1524; October 30, 1525; June 4, 1525; August 12, 1525; November 15, 1526; January 4, 1526; April 15, 1526; July 3, 1526; November 14, 1526; December 5, 1527. These payments are noted in Debitori e Creditori and in Quaderno F. under other dates. See Appendix II, Docs. 14, 15 and 16.

Reprod. Small copy (oil on canvas) by Empoli, Ufficio delle Belle Arti, Florence; photo. F. M. C.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 266-269; VII, 594, 605; Moreni, *Notizie Istoriche, parte seconda*, p. 153; Borghini, *Il Riposo*, ed. 1730, p. 394; Cruttwell, *Florentine Churches*, p. 77; *Dessins*, pp. 20, 33, 35, 38, 50, 52, 69, 91, 96, 97, 105, 134, 135, 140, 145, 154, 165, 187, 192, 198, 201, 204, 207, 209, 210, 216, 223, 246, 247, 328, 333.

CHRIST BEFORE PILATE

In the centre Christ stands almost profile left, his hands bound behind him. He has red hair and wears a light violet mantle. To the left, Pilate seated, turned three-quarters right, his right arm on the arm of his chair, his left hand outstretched towards the Christ; he wears a dark yellow robe, with a Veronese green band and a white turban; a red mantle is thrown over the chair. Behind him, his wife, almost facing, her head almost profile left, her right hand raised, pointing to Christ; she wears a Veronese green dress, a white head-dress and scarf over the shoulders. On her right and behind Pilate, the head and shoulders of a man dressed in a red jacket and violet cap. On her left stands a man also pointing to Christ; he is dressed in a purple mantle with lighter purple collar and linings, red sleeves and red cap. Behind Christ on the right, a man facing, his right arm stretched out towards Pilate; he wears a Veronese green cloak, yellow vest and hat. Farther to the right, two soldiers in white armour with golden weapons. Behind these, two men, one to the left wears a pale violet hat, reddish purple cloak and sleeve with yellow undersleeve, one to the right a red mantle, purple vest and light violet turban. At the feet of the latter, at the extreme right, a soldier crouching with a shield. In the foreground, seen from behind and to the waist, two soldiers in white armour, carrying halberds. The background is a stone staircase ending in a balustrade; there are parapets on either side of pale yellowish green. At the top of the stairs a man descends bearing a golden ewer and basin; he is dressed in a yellow jerkin, violet breeches, Veronese green cap and white scarf. Behind the balustrade to the right, a man and woman, the former dressed in a reddish brown cloak and blue-grey jacket, the latter in a green dress and white head-dress. The sky is a grey-blue. All the flesh tones, a warm brown.

Fresco. Arched, h. 3.00, w. 2.90.

At the extreme left end (on entering) of the entrance wall. This is the best preserved of the Passion frescoes and it is the only one mentioned by Berenson. It was, according to Vasari, the second that Pontormo painted in the cloister. In the cupbearer Vasari saw something of Jacopo's old manner. We might notice that the soldiers at the extreme left are very like the "St. Quentin" of Borgo San Sepolcro. The following figures are derived from Dürer: the soldiers in the foreground, from "Die Badstube" (c. 1496); Pilate, from the King in "Die Marter des Evangelisten Johannes" (1498); for the figures on the steps, cf. "Marias Erster Tempelgang" (1506).

Condition: repainted. The white colour of the armour may be due to an old scaling of the surface.

Date: 1523-1524.

Documents: cf. the preceding.

Reprod. Fig. 79; small copy (oil on canvas) by Empoli, Ufficio delle Belle Arti, Florence; photo. F. M. C.; fig., Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*

Bibl. Cf. the preceding.

THE WAY TO GOLGOTHA

In the foreground right, Christ falls under the weight of the cross; he wears a robe of two shades of wine-colour. In the foreground left, St. Veronica kneels and bends towards the Christ as she holds out to him the sacred cloth; she wears a skirt of dark wine-colour with yellow lights, violet sleeves, a Veronese green scarf shot with grey, a pink cap and steel-coloured band. In the lower left corner, the head and shoulders of a figure dressed in a light wine-coloured bodice and a white and green head-dress. Above St. Veronica, the executioner, who leads Christ by a cord passed around his waist, stands facing; he has yellow hair and is dressed in a wine-coloured tunic with yellow lining and a Veronese green cap turned out with violet. To his left and bending forward, a soldier in Veronese green hose slashed with blue-white, a yellow jerkin shot with red, puffed sleeves slashed from the elbows down, yellow over white. Behind the last named figure, a man, with golden hair tied with a white band, dressed in a bright red tunic with a violet girdle. Behind the latter, a youth leaning forward, staff in hand; his hair is golden, his cap Veronese green, his jerkin purplish red. Behind the group just described, the two thieves nude and seen from behind. In front of them, a man on horseback, his horse light bay, his mantle Veronese green, his cap red and green, his saddle red. On his right, a man on a white horse who turns towards the spectator; he wears a violet tunic, light red sleeves and saddle, wine-coloured mantle, green turban. Behind him to the right, half hidden by a green mound, a group of women: the Madonna dressed in pale purple with a white head-dress; to her right, a woman with hand raised to her face who is blond and wears a green bodice and red skirt; to the left of the Virgin, a woman weeping, her head bent on her arms; she is dressed in a red mantle

with red sleeves; behind the latter, other women's heads in white head-dresses. Behind and to the right of the man who leads Christ, a boy in white with flying yellow hair, bearing a ladder. Next to him towards the foreground, a man with a staff in his right hand, his left hand on an arm of the cross; he wears a purple tunic, white shirt-sleeves rolled back, white cap; his staff and the cross are reddish yellow. Farther to the right, a figure wearing a yellow hat, purple shirt and red hose. On his right, a man in white who carries one of the thieves' crosses. Still farther to the right, an old man on a white horse riding towards the spectator; he wears a red mantle turned out with yellow, purple shirt, red hat with yellow ornament; the horse's harness is red. To the left of the horse's head one sees a blond head. To the right, another man who bears a cross, dressed in a tunic with green sleeves lined with white. Below these last named figures, a man nude to the waist who leans forward to raise the end of Christ's cross; he wears Veronese green hose with ribbons and a wine-coloured drapery lined with yellow-red. To the right of the latter, a blond head with green head-dress. In the extreme right corner, a kneeling figure with golden hair, yellow and brick-coloured shot dress, pale blue sleeve and cuff and green lower sleeve.

Fresco. Arched, h. 3.00, w. 2.90.

At the extreme right end of the right-hand wall of the cloister, adjoining the wall of the entrance door. Vasari considered this to be the best of this cycle of frescoes — "riuscì molto migliore che l'altre" (VI, 268) — and, in certain details, a return to Jacopo's Italian manner, although in the general effect he saw an imitation of Dürer. Borghini repeats Vasari's opinion, but to us this fresco appears inferior to the "Christ before Pilate." It was, it would seem, the fourth that Pontormo painted in the cloister. In it the following figures are derived from engravings or woodcuts by the German master: St. Veronica, from "Die Kreuztragung" (1512); the man with a ladder on his head and the figure that strikes Christ, from "Die Kreuztragung" (1509); the women on the hill, from "Die Kreuzigung" (1509-1511); the old man on horseback, to the extreme right, from "Christus vor Hannas" (1509-1511).

Condition: ruined and repainted.

Date: 1523-1524.

Drawings: possible sketch for the man carrying the end of the cross, Uffizi 6529; possible sketch for the head of the same, Uffizi 6578; sketch for the same figure from the knees up, Uffizi 6643 verso (photo. F. M. C.); possible sketch for the executioner, Uffizi 6529.

Documents: see above.

Reprod. Fig. 80; photo. F. M. C.

Bibl. See above.

PIETA

In the centre, extended from right to left, the Christ; his hair is red; across his lap, a white cloth; under him, a pale purple drapery laid over a green stuff. In the foreground, extreme right, a woman seated; she wears a dark purplish robe, green head-dress and holds a white handkerchief in her right hand. In the foreground, extreme left, Magdalen kneels dressed in a red robe shot with yellow, a green head-dress shot with pink, and green sleeves shot with yellow. Behind the Christ, the Virgin in pale purple draperies and white head-dress. Above the Magdalen, Joseph of Arimathea, seated profile right, dressed in a purplish red vest, grey sleeves and purplish yellow hat around which is wound a green scarf; in his hands, a white cloth. To the right of the latter figure, a man stooping over a cylindrical box; he wears a yellow robe with red sleeves; the box is purplish white with red ribbons. Next to the latter a woman, her right hand raised to her face; her mantle is purple dark at the edges and her head-dress white. Next to her, and to the right of a ladder, the head of a woman draped in white. Next to the latter, and to the right of the Virgin, a woman standing; she wears a white tunic and a red mantle which is drawn over her head. Directly below the latter, a seated woman in a green robe and purplish white head-dress. Next to her, a man stooping to support the Christ; he wears a green coat, purple hose and yellow cap. In the background, yellow uprights of crosses and ladders and light green trees; to the left, a low hill. The sky is a pale green, the ground, yellow.

Fresco. Arched, h. 3.00, w. 2.90.

At the extreme right end of the wall opposite the entrance of the cloister. Instead of painting a "Deposition" for which we have a drawing and a "Crucifixion" which he had projected and which were never executed, Pontormo began and finished, Vasari tells us, this "Pietà" which was the fifth of his frescoes for the Certosini. Vasari praises the colour, the Magdalen, the Joseph of Arimathea and the Nicodemus. Jacopo derived the following figures from Dürer: the Madonna, from "Christus am Kreuz" (1508); the Magdalen from "Die Beweinung Christi" (1509-1511); the Madonna's head, the head of the woman seated to her right and the woman standing between them, from "Die Grablegung" (1509-1511). The woman seated to the extreme right may have been suggested by the Madonna in "Christus am Kreuz" (1498); the old man seated left (Joseph of Arimathea) is not unlike the old man in "Die Kreuzabnahme" (1509-1511) and recalls the Zacharias of Pontormo's birth-plate, in the Uffizi. It is also interesting to

compare this work of Pontormo's with Dürer's pictures of the same subject, now in Munich and Nuremberg.

Condition: ruined and repainted.

Date: 1524-1525.

Drawings: first thought for the woman above and to the left of the Madonna, Corsini 124242 (photo. F. M. C.); first thoughts for the Christ, Uffizi 6614 verso (photo. F. M. C.) and 6702 verso (photo. F. M. C.); sketch for the woman seated to the right, Uffizi 6702 verso; possible first ideas for the drapery of the women's heads may be seen on Uffizi 6558 (photo. F. M. C.).

Documents: see above.

Reprod. Small copy by Empoli (oil on canvas), Ufficio delle Belle Arti, Florence; photo. F. M. C.

Bibl. See above.

THE RISEN CHRIST

In the centre, the Risen Christ, his hands outstretched and uplifted; with the right he makes the sign of benediction, in the left he holds the banner of the Resurrection; his drapery is lavender. Below him and to the right, a yellow shield with a light blue band on which: S. P. Q. R. Below him and to the left, a light blue shield with a yellow band on which are stars. On each side of the Christ, groups of sleeping soldiers. In the group to the right, the figure farthest from the spectator wears a yellow-brown jerkin and a lavender cap. Before him and towards the Christ, a sprawling soldier, holding a shield, dressed in a purple shirt and yellow jerkin; at his knees, white drapery. On the right of the latter, a soldier in a purple suit, lighter purple hose, white shirt showing at the elbows, white underclothes showing at the knees, high shoes and white socks; he holds on his right arm a yellow shield on which a white band and crescents. In the group to the left, the soldier nearest Christ wears a red jerkin, light green neck-band, light green and purple hat. The soldier next to the left has a brown beard and is dressed in a purple jerkin and a purple hat turned back showing a pale blue lining. Before the latter and on the left, a soldier with his head resting on his hand; he wears a pale green jerkin, white showing at the wrist and through the slashed sleeve, and a yellow hat. In the foreground left, a soldier wearing a light purple jerkin, yellow hose, white with red ribbons at the knees, boots and white socks; his sleeve from elbow to wrist is light red slashed with white; at his neck, a red tie; his hat is lavender with pale blue ribbons and a yellow chin-stay; his right hand rests on the red hilt of a sword which lies across his knees and has a golden pommel; beside him to the left, a silver helmet with purple strap. In the background, pikes and halberds seen against purple turning to silver towards the centre.

Fresco. Arched, h. 2.32, w. 2.90.

In a recess at the extreme left end of the farther wall of the cloister. Vasari says that this was the third fresco that Pontormo painted at the Certosa and that in it he changed his

colouring — "venne capriccio a Jacopo . . . di mutar colorito" (VI, 268). The general tone was, it would seem, lighter than in the other frescoes. The composition is derived from Dürer's woodcut of the same subject; the soldier to the extreme left, from "Die Auferstehung" (1509-1511); the figure of the soldier to the right and the Christ, from "Die Auferstehung" (1510).

Condition: ruined and repainted.
Date: 1523-1524.
Drawings: possible sketch for the soldier to the extreme right, Uffizi 6638; possible first thoughts for the Christ, Uffizi 6702 verso and 6726 verso (photo. F. M. C.).
Documents: see above.
Reprod. Fig. 81; photo. F. M. C.
Bibl. See above.

According to Vasari (VI, 269) Pontormo intended to execute in the cloister of the Certosa a "Crucifixion" and a "Deposition." For the former we have, in Uffizi 459 verso (photo. F. M. C.), a possible first thought for the Madonna, and for the latter we have, in Uffizi 6622 (fig. 83; photo. Houghton), a preliminary sketch for the whole composition. We also know that he planned to paint a "Nailing to the Cross" for which we have a drawing of the whole composition (Uffizi 6671; fig. 85; photo. Houghton) and several sketches for individual figures (Uffizi 447; fig. 89; photo. F. M. C.; Uffizi 6652 verso; 6657; 6665; fig. 86; photo. Houghton). Bronzino helped Jacopo at the Certosa, but to what extent we cannot now determine. There he did his first independent work — a "Pietà with Two Angels" and a "San Lorenzo," both in fresco (Vasari, VI, 270; VII, 594). From documents that I have discovered (A. S. F., Convento 51, No. 16, p. 30) we learn that Bronzino also decorated for the monks certain service-books which have since been lost. Vasari in his early youth, just after he came to Florence for the first time (VII, 651), studied the frescoes of the cloister and made drawings from them (VII, 605). Pontormo also executed at the Certosa a "Nativity," and a portrait of a lay brother that Moreni (*Notizie,* II, 145) describes as a half-length figure

in fresco on the right side of the altar of San Benedetto, both of which have since disappeared. Besides these he painted for the Certosini the "Supper at Emmaus," now in the Academy in Florence.

FLORENCE

Academy

190. SUPPER AT EMMAUS

In the centre, Christ, full face, seated at table, in his left hand a loaf, his right raised in benediction. He has light brown hair and wears a reddish grey vest and a dark blue mantle. To the right, a monk standing dressed in a grey-toned purple habit. In the foreground right, a man seated profile left, legs crossed, his left hand holding a drapery at his knee, his head seen three-quarters from behind; he wears a yellowish red vest, grey hat, dark olive-green mantle. In the foreground left, a man seated, turned to the right and seen three-quarters from behind; he fills a glass from a pitcher and wears a grey tunic and a red drapery shot with yellow about the hips. Above the latter and to the left, a monk standing turned three-quarters right, his hands raised to the level of his breast; he wears a grey habit. In the background to the right, a monk dressed in grey stands facing. Over his shoulder one sees the head of another figure turned three-quarters left. The background is dark grey; around the eye of the Trinity in the upper part of the picture there is a yellowish light. The table is grey-white, the stools brownish grey, the plate and pitcher silver-grey, the cat brown, the dog light grey. On a "cartella," in the lower right corner, is inscribed 1525.

Oil on canvas. H. 2.30, w. 1.73 (catalogue, h. 2.69, w. 1.78).

Mentioned by Vasari. This picture was painted for the Certosini of San Lorenzo al Monte and placed in the Foresteria, or Dispensa, of the convent. It was removed, after the suppression of the monasteries, to the Academy. The composition is derived from Dürer's woodcut "Christus und die Jünger von Emmaus." In type and treatment, however, our canvas is less Düreresque than the frescoes of the cloister at the Certosa. On the back one finds the note: "Verif. 7 Giugno 1906."

Condition: somewhat damaged, especially on the left side.

Date: 1525.

Drawings: possible first thought for the figure to the left in the foreground, Uffizi 6656 recto (photo. F. M. C.); finished study for the monk in the background to the right, Uffizi 6656 verso (fig. 84; photo. F. M. C.).

Document: payment for the colours and the frame, A. S. F., San Lorenzo al Monte, Giornale L., p. 30 destra. See Appendix II, Doc. 15.

Reprod. Fig. 82; photo. Reali; small copy (oil on canvas), the background of which is the grey stone frame of a door, painted by Empoli at the request of the monks of the Certosa, and now in the Ufficio delle Belle Arti, in Florence.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 270; Borghini, *Il Riposo*, ed. 1730, p. 394; Pieraccini, *Guida della R. Galleria antica e moderna*, 7th ed., Prato, p. 75; B. F. P. R., p. 174; *Dessins*, pp. 33, 35, 38, 52, 55, 69, 128, 209, 223; *On Certain Drawings*, pp. 12, 21.

"THE HOSPITAL OF SAN MATTEO"

Behind an early Renaissance arcade, on a slightly raised platform, four women in bed; the bed to the extreme right is canopied and its occupant wears a halo. Between this bed and the next a woman kneels profile left before a statue of the Virgin and Child. An attendant sits at the foot of the first bed to the right. To the extreme right and in front of the platform, two figures profile left, one carrying a book, the other coming in through a door. To their left, a child standing full face who seems to address them; farther to the left, a woman's figure with back turned; to the extreme left, a group of four women, one seated profile right, while another with a halo kneels before her and washes her feet; another standing profile left brings a towel; a fourth, to the extreme left, stands profile right looking on. On the floor, slippers and a pitcher. The figures are grey on a lavender background; the beds, light yellow, the floor, grey.

Fresco. H. .91, w. 1.50.

Painted in grisaille on the wall of a room that was once part of the Hospital of San Matteo. It is now concealed by Giotto's "Madonna Enthroned" and has long been ascribed to Andrea del Sarto. Guinness makes the impossible suggestion that Andrea painted this fresco while he was an inmate of the hospital. Schaeffer considers it to be an early work of Andrea's. The attribution to Pontormo, in which I completely concur, is Berenson's. The haloes worn by several figures in the composition indicate that the generally accepted explanation of the subject is incorrect and that, in all probability, we have here some obscure episode from the "Lives of the Saints."

Condition: fair; somewhat rubbed here and there.

Date: about 1513.

Reprod. Fig. 1; photo. Alinari 1633 (as Andrea); Hanfstaengl (also as Andrea).

Bibl. Guinness, *Andrea del Sarto*, London, 1899, p. 85; Schaeffer, *Andrea del Sarto;* Lafenestre, *Florence*, p. 193; B. F. P. R., p. 174.

SS. Annunziata

FAITH AND CHARITY

In the centre, a marble relief of the Medici arms surmounted by tiara and keys. To the left, a voluminously draped female figure holding in her arms an infant; she is seated nearly profile left, head full face; behind her on a high step, a "putto" seated profile left, his right hand laid on her shoulder. Seated to the right, a heavily draped woman's figure turned three-quarters right, her right arm extended at her side, her left hand laid on the top of a great book that rests on her knees. Behind her, a "putto" three-quarters right. Between these draped figures and the shield, at the centre of the composition, are vestiges of "putti" in various poses.

Fresco over the main portal on the façade of the "loggia." The space decorated is enclosed between concentric arcs and two verticals. H. 1.25, w. 4.60.

This work, which was originally entrusted to Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini who, however, executed only the ornaments and the gilding, is described at length and enthusiastically praised by Vasari. Jacopo, it would seem, prepared his drawings secretly at Sant'Antonio alla porta a Faenza. The success of these drawings was, according to Vasari, the cause of Jacopo's rupture with Andrea. Michelangelo is said (Vasari) to have admired this decoration, and it was celebrated throughout the sixteenth century. Cav. Gabburri (*Lettere pittoriche,* II; Vasari, ed. 1811, XII, 9, n. 2) wanted to restore it but nothing was done; by 1831 it had become so complete a ruin that restoration was found to be impracticable.

Condition: ruined; the figures described above can only be dimly discerned.

Date: September, 1513—June, 1514.

Drawing: Uffizi 6706, a ruined study of a "putto" clinging to the branch of a tree, is perhaps a fragment of Pontormo's preparatory work. Bocchi describes a figure in this pose as one of the beauties of the fresco.

Documents: we have five payments for this work: November, 1513; March, 1513 (Old Style); March, 1514; April, 1514; June, 1514. See Appendix II, Doc. 12.

Reprod. Photo. of the façade of the church, Alinari 2028.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 247-249; Bocchi, ed. Cinelli, p. 416; Richa, VIII, 52; R. Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 392; Del Migliore, p. 269; *Dessins,* pp. 33, 34, 41, 47, 66, 90, 249; *On Certain Drawings,* pp. 5, 19.

MADONNA AND SAINTS

In the centre the Madonna stands almost facing, the head nearly profile right, the weight on left foot, the right foot slightly raised; violet drapery over her blond hair, brick-red mantle, light blue skirt. The female saint (Agnes?), who kneels facing, in the foreground to the left, and who with her left hand holds against her lap a white book on which her right hand rests, wears a purple robe with green sleeves; she gazes up. In the foreground right a male saint (Zechariah) kneels profile left; he wears a purple robe shot with yellow and a red skirt; his hands rest on the top of a tablet that stands on the ground before him. To the extreme right stands St. Michael nearly facing, his head profile left; in his right hand he holds a scales; his armour is purple, his drapery brick-red, his wings brown. To the extreme left St. Lucy stands profile right, her head three-quarters right; she holds in her left hand a palm and in her raised right hand a plate on which her eyes. The steps are green, the background grey-green; above, draped curtains drawn back.

Fresco. H. 1.85, w. 1.71.

Once in the first chapel to the right, in the church of San Ruffillo in Piazza dell' Olio, anciently San Ruffillo del Vescovo. At the end of the eighteenth century this decoration had already fallen into decay. When the church was pulled down in the early part of the nineteenth century, the fresco was transferred (1823) to the left wall of the Chapel of San Luca, in the Annunziata, where it may now be seen. On that occasion the lunette of "God the Father" that surmounted this composition was destroyed.

Condition: ruined and badly restored; the left side and leg of St. Michael, as well as the back of St. Lucy, are quite modern; the "intonaco" had fallen.

Date: 1513.

Drawings: first sketch for the Madonna, Uffizi 6676 verso (fig. 4; photo. F. M. C.); study for the Zechariah, Dresden, 200 (fig. 3; photo. Hanstaengel).

Reprod. Fig. 2; photo. F. M. C.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 256; Richa, IV, 146; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 392 f.; Del Migliore, p. 155; *Dessins,* pp. 19, 34, 38, 51, 65, 84, 194, 226, 335; *On Certain Drawings,* pp. 5, 19; B. F. P. R., p. 175.

VISITATION

Composition of fifteen figures grouped on steps before a broad round niche ornamented with pilasters. In the centre, the Virgin standing profile right, orange head-dress, red robe, blue mantle. To her right and seen profile

left, Elizabeth who bends the knee to her, white head-dress, light green robe, orange mantle, lavender under-sleeve. In the background behind Elizabeth, a man's figure (effaced), dark purple cap, red mantle. To his right, a woman's figure profile left; still farther right in the background, a woman three-quarters left, head three-quarters right, red vest, dark purple mantle. In front of the latter figure and behind Elizabeth, St. Joseph kneeling, in his left hand a staff, his right pointing to the Virgin, red sleeves and vest, yellow mantle. To his right, a prophet standing with hand uplifted, green head-dress and sleeve, red draperies. To the extreme right, Zechariah standing profile left, head nearly full face; his left hand holds a book against his hip, blond hair, white tunic, light yellow draperies, green cover of book. On the second step and to the right, nude "putto" seated, right arm at side, left leg extended right, blond hair. On second step to the left, woman seated profile right, head nearly full face, white head-dress, reddish tunic with yellow sleeves, purple drapery. Behind her, a woman standing profile right with a bundle on her head to which her left arm is raised, blond hair, brickish red drapery, white sleeve, the bundle greenish blue and pink. To the right of the latter, blond woman standing three-quarters right, lavender vest shot with gold, red mantle. To her right and behind the Madonna, a woman standing full face carrying on her right arm a baby, her head profile right, light green dress with yellow sleeves; the baby wears a violet loin-cloth; both are blond. To the extreme left, an old woman standing full face with a staff in her right hand, light purple robe, white scarf. The steps are yellow, the background grey. Above, on the cornice of the niche, the "Sacrifice of Isaac"; Jacob, dark red mantle with yellow sleeves. On either side of the latter scene are cherubs holding tablets on which are inscribed, left: NVM| DEE| EVM; right: NEC| VAN| IVR. On the upper edge of the tablets are cassolettes. Between the capitals of the middle pilasters of the niche one reads: ANVE · OPTIME · DEVS.

Fresco in the small cloister that serves as courtyard to the church. H. 3.92, w. 3.37; the upper part of the composition is arched.

Mentioned by Vasari. This is the most important specimen we possess of Pontormo's early work. Wölfflin finds that here Jacopo has attempted, and not unsuccessfully, to imitate the compositions of Fra Bartolommeo ("Marriage of St. Catherine," Louvre). He adds: "This fresco not only produces an imposing effect by the increased size of the figures; it is intrinsically a great composition. The central scheme, according to the design which Andrea had thoroughly tested five years before, is now for the first time raised to the height of an architectonic effect." Selwyn Brinton feels that our fresco "in beauty of colour and refinement of drawing almost rivals the 'Madonna del Sacco.'" Andrea's fresco of course dates from ten years later. More careful study reveals that, while the larger elements of the composition are well arranged, the

accessory figures lack rhythmical coherence and the general effect is somewhat lame. The colour-scheme, however, is charming, light, decorative, and harmonious. The "Assumption" in this cloister, which is erroneously ascribed to Pontormo by Milanesi (V, 67) followed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ed. Hutton, III, 495), is of course by Rosso (Vasari, V, 157) although the original commission for the work was given to Andrea.

Condition: seriously damaged in spots and badly restored; the "intonaco" has fallen here and there and some of the heads are almost obliterated; the upper part of the fresco has suffered from humidity.

Date: December, 1514–June, 1516.

Drawings: sketch for the boy seated on the steps to right, Uffizi 6542 (fig. 7; photo. F. M. C.); study for the woman seated on the steps left, Uffizi 6603 (fig. 6; photo. Houghton); Gamba believes Louvre 461 (photo. Giraudon; Braun, Louvre 117) to be a study for the Zechariah but the drawing has been so completely rehandled that its authenticity is somewhat doubtful. Berenson considers a sketch on Uffizi 6556 verso to be for the hand of the old woman with a staff; I do not think that the identification is convincing. In my *Dessins* I suggested Uffizi 6565 as a first thought for the Zechariah. It now seems to me to be a sketch for one of the figures of the "Joseph Sold to Potiphar," in Panshanger. Cf. fig. 31.

Documents: payments, December, 1514; April 24, 1515; May 28, 1515; March 4, 1516; May 13, 1516; May 17, 1516. See Appendix II, Doc. 13.

Reprod. Fig. 5; Louvre 1242, modified copy of the late sixteenth century, recognized as such by Villot, and perhaps the work of Alessandro Allori (photo. Braun, 11242); engraving, *Etruria pittrice,* pl. XLIV; photo. Alinari 3815; fig., Vasari, trans. de Vere, VII, 154.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 257; Bocchi, p. 424; Richa, VIII, 60; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 393; Del Migliore, p. 170; *Ristretto delle cose più notabili della città di Firenze,* 1689, p. 29; B. F. D., II, 144; B. F. P. R., p. 175; Cruttwell, *Florentine Churches,* pp. 8 f., 18 f.; Wölfflin, *The Art of the Italian Renaissance,* New York, 1903, pp. 148, 161, 219; Selwyn Brinton, *The Renaissance,* Goupil, 1908, p. 187 f.; *Dessins,* pp. 19, 33, 34, 38, 66, 142, 151, 152, 180, 220, 221, 301, 350; *On Certain Drawings,* pp. 7, 19 f.; *Rassegna d'arte,* IX, No. 3, p. 39; as well as Vinc. Meini, *Notizie storiche e religiose dell' Ordine dei Servi e del tempio della SS. Annunziata,* Firenze, Fioretti, 1853; Moreni, *Descrizione della chiesa della SS. Nunziata di Firenze,* Firenze, 1781 (republished in *Firenze antica e moderna,* Firenze, 1789-1802, III, 287-365; *Pitture a fresco d'Andrea del Sarto e d'altri celebri Autori nel chiostro della SS. Annunziata disegnate e incise da Aless. Chiari con illust. di Melch. Misserini,* Firenze, 1834; Ant. Zobi, *Memorie storico-artistiche sulla cappella della SS. Annunziata di Firenze,* Firenze, 1837.

Santa Felicita
Capponi Chapel

DEPOSITION

Arched composition of eleven figures. The Christ is borne by two figures: a youth to the extreme left who walks three-quarters right, head full face, supports his shoulders, with his left hand lifting the Christ's left hand; a youth squatting a little more than profile right, head three-quarters right, supports Christ's thighs on his left shoulder. To the right in the foreground, a woman, seen from behind with left hand lifted, approaches the Madonna who is seated, it would seem, on a bank by the road-side; she is seen nearly full face, her left arm bent, her right raised and stretched out towards the Christ. Over the Christ's head one sees the head of a woman, seen from behind, who with her right hand holds the Saviour's left wrist. Above her and to the left, a woman who bends down, her head seen three-quarters right, and with her left hand supports the left side of the Christ's head. Between the latter figure and the Madonna, the head of a woman who, turned three-quarters right, looks at the Virgin. Above the latter, at the top of the composition, a woman who stands full face, head three-quarters left, her right arm folded across her breast, and looks down at the Christ. To the right and above the Madonna, a youth who, with arms extended downwards and at his sides, looks at the Saviour. To the extreme right, head and shoulders of a man profile right, his head three-quarters right. All the heads are blond. The colour-scheme is somewhat as follows: Christ, purplish loin-cloth; drapery of the head just above the Christ, lavender-grey; woman on the left leaning forward, light blue dress with pink scarf; youth holding the shoulders of Christ, light blue drapery, red mantle; youth who carries the legs of Christ, light pink drapery; woman on the right, seen from behind, light pink drapery; figure to the extreme right, pink dress; Madonna, blue mantle; woman next to the left, greenish blue robe; youth leaning forward at the top of the composition, pink drapery wound around his arm; background, light green earth and cloudy sky; the whole is bathed in a golden light.

Oil on wood. H. 3.13, w. 1.92.

As Vasari tells us this altar-piece was painted for Lodovico Capponi for the chapel where it may still be seen in its magnificently carved original frame. The chapel belonged to the Barbadori and was dedicated to the Annunziata. It was rented by them to Antonio di Bernardo Paghanelli (1487) who later on bought it. His son Bernardo sold it for two hundred "scudi" to Lodovico di Gino Capponi somewhere about 1525 (A. S. F., Convento 83, No. 115, p. 21; see Appendix II, Doc. 17). Capponi had the chapel entirely redecorated. Pontormo was chosen to fresco the walls and vaulting and

paint the altar-piece. Guglielmo Da Marcillac was given a commission for a stained-glass window representing the "Entombment" (Vasari, IV, 428). This window was later in the possession of the Gesuati of Florence who, being workers in glass themselves, took it apart to discover the secret of certain effects. Later it was preserved in Palazzo Capponi delle Rovinate. According to Milanesi it is now in the Museo Nazionale of Florence, the catalogue of which does not mention it. The cupola of the chapel and the holy water font were traditionally held to be by Brunelleschi and on the memorial tablet one reads: "...ac ne illarum ornamenta at hac Brunelleschi structura Pontormi que pictura..." In our "Deposition" the figure to the extreme left is not indispensable to the composition; it may be a portrait of Capponi, the donor.

Condition: excellent; Milanesi believes that, with the other decorations of the chapel, it was badly cleaned in 1723 (Vasari, VI, 272; see also Richa, IX, 211; Borghini, ed. 1730, pp. XIV and 395). The picture does not seem to me to show any trace of a drastic cleaning and the documents contain no specific reference to any such restoration (A. S. F., Santa Felicita, Filza Ricordi e Scritture, 1456-1734; Restaurazione del Nostro Capitolo fata a spese di Monache particulari nel 1722).

Date: 1526-1528.

Drawings: probable first idea for the Christ, Uffizi 6619 (fig. 99; photo. F. M. C.; D. G. U., pl. XV); sketch for the legs of same, Uffizi 6527; study for the youth in the upper right corner, Uffizi 6576 recto (fig. 100; photo. Houghton; F. M. C.); sketch for the drapery of the same, Uffizi 6730 (fig. 97; photo. F. M. C.); finished study for the head of the youth who carries the legs of Christ, Uffizi 6577 (fig. 95; photo. Houghton); sketches for the head and shoulders of the youth who carries the shoulders of Christ, Uffizi 6687 (photo. F. M. C.); Corsini 124229 verso (photo. F. M. C.); Corsini 124230 (fig. 96; photo. F. M. C.); sketch for the torse, legs and drapery of the same, Uffizi 6613 verso (fig. 98; photo. F. M. C.); sketch for the drapery of the same, Uffizi 6730 (fig. 97; photo. F. M. C.); possible sketch for the woman seen from behind who approaches the Madonna, Uffizi 6735; finished study for the head of the figure to the extreme right, Uffizi 6587; first idea for the head of the woman to the right of the Virgin, Uffizi 6627 (fig. 94; photo. Houghton); on the same sheet, a finished study for the same; possible sketch for the head of the Madonna, Uffizi 6519; study for the same, Uffizi 6666 (fig. 93; photo. F. M. C.); Berenson considers Oxford 224 to be a first idea for the whole composition but the resemblance between the drawing and the picture is remote.

Documents: the following books of the monastery dating from the period at which this picture was painted are preserved: A. S. F., Convento 83, No. 6, Giornale, 1528-1558; No. 21, Entrata e Uscita, 1530-1539; No. 74,

Debitori e Creditori, 1527-1528; No. 75, Debitori e Creditori, 1528-1538; No. 106, Ricordi e Scriture, 1436-1734; No. 115, Ricordanze, 1485-1528. None of these contain any reference to our altar-piece.

Reprod. Fig. 92; photo. Alinari 4708; fig. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.;* Vasari, trans. de Vere, VII, 168.

Bibl. Vasari, II, 350; IV, 428; VI, 271 f.; Bocchi, p. 117; Richa, IX, 252 ff.; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 394; Follini, *Firenze illustrata,* VIII, 194 ff.; Lami, *Deliciae Erudit.,* XIII, 1173 ff.; Firenze, Bibl. Naz. Magliab., XXXV, 411, p. 73; Del Migliore, *Zibaldone historico,* Vol. C., XVII; Balocchi, *Illust. dell' I. e R. Chiesa parrochiale di S. Felicita,* Firenze, 1828, pp. 34 f.; *Ristretto,* p. 106; Morelli, *Borghese and Doria Pamfili Galleries,* 1900, p. 130; Cruttwell, *Florentine Churches,* pp. 12 f.; Fabriczy, *Brunelleschi,* p. 76 f.; B. F. D., I, 321 f.; II, 139, 142, 145, 147, 148, 150, 151, 155; B. F. P. R., p. 175; *Dessins,* pp. 20, 35, 40, 70, 91, 96, 128, 132, 141, 164, 169, 170, 179, 186, 189, 190, 193, 203, 217, 223, 234, 255, 263, 264, 266, 366; *On Certain Drawings,* pp. 13, 22.

ANNUNCIATION

The Virgin stands full face beside her lectern, head turned three-quarters left, her left hand resting on the book she has just been reading, her right holding the folds of her robe; red robe, blue mantle, over her head, a grey scarf. The Angel Gabriel is turned three-quarters right; he holds his drapery with both hands against his thigh, right leg advanced, head profile right; red drapery with a blue belt and blue wings.

Fresco. In two parts, each, h. 2.50, w. 1.10.

Part of the decoration of the chapel of which the "Deposition" just described is the altar-piece. The pose of the Madonna may have been suggested by a drawing of Michelangelo's, such as the sketch (British Museum 1900-9-11-1) which was used by Venusti for his "Annunciation" at the Lateran.

Condition: ruined and grossly repainted.

Date: 1526-1528.

Drawings: possible first thought for the Virgin, Uffizi 6570 recto (photo. F. M. C.; D. G. U., pl. XIX); finished study for the Virgin, Uffizi 448 (fig. 88; photo. Pini; F. M. C.; D. G. U., pl. XVI); five sketches for the head and shoulders of the angel, Uffizi 6570 verso (photo. F. M. C.); finished study for the angel, Uffizi 6653 (fig. 87; photo. F. M. C.).

Bibl. See the preceding and B. F. D., II, 138, 149; *Dessins,* pp. 40, 70, 96, 159, 160, 164, 190, 208, 295.

THE FOUR EVANGELISTS

Bust figures. They cannot be identified with certainty. In the pendentive left of altar, Evangelist, bearded and bald, turned three-quarters

right, dressed in reddish robe with green sleeve. Pendentive right of altar, Evangelist, torse full face, head three-quarters right, blue robe, red mantle, white sleeve. Pendentive nearest the door of church, Evangelist, full face, leaning with right forearm on a parapet, head inclined slightly to left, red drapery, grey sleeve. Pendentive above pillar, Evangelist leaning on a parapet and turned slightly to right, red drapery.

Oil on wood. Diameter .70.

Like the "Annunciation" just described these "tondi" of the vaulting are part of the general decoration of the chapel. Vasari and Borghini state that one of them was painted by Bronzino. In his "Life of Bronzino" Vasari ascribes two Evangelists and certain other figures (now destroyed) of the vaulting to Jacopo's pupil. The chapel is now so dark that no distinctions of touch can be made although the "tondo" over the pillar seems to show traces of Bronzino's hand. The Evangelist seen nearly in profile may have been suggested by such a drawing of Michelangelo's as British Museum 1835, 9-15-495 (B. F. D., 1520; photo. Kensington 2209). The church was modernized in the first half of the eighteenth century; the "God the Father and Patriarchs" that occupied the centre of the cupola was destroyed in 1766 in remodelling the organ-loft. Uffizi 6615 (photo. Houghton) may have served as a study for one of these lost figures.

Condition: darkened by smoke.

Date: 1526-1528.

Drawings: possible first idea for one of these figures, Uffizi 6674 (photo. F. M. C.); finished study for the "tondo" nearest the door, British Museum, Payne Knight Collection, P. p. 2, 102.

Bibl. See above and *Dessins*, pp. 36, 40, 70, 186, 203, 225, 295.

Santa Maria Novella

Cappella del Papa

ST. VERONICA

In the centre the saint kneels facing holding out to the left the sacred cloth, white head-dress, orange robe. To right and left, on a high square parapet kneels a cherub with purple wings touched with light blue; each holds a flaming blue cassolette and draws back the purple curtains which

hang from a canopy ornamented with three cherub heads, one (left) with blue wings, one (centre) with grey-green wings, one (right) with reddish wings. Under the figure of St. Veronica, the inscription: HECEST| SALV|VRA; on the parapet to the left: ECCE| TABER|NACVLV̄| DEI| SV̄; on the right parapet: PRETENDE| DN̄E| SVP| FAMVLV̄.

Lunette over the entrance door. Fresco. H. 3.07, w. 4.13.

Condition: completely restored by Conti. There is nothing to show that the present colour-scheme resembles Pontormo's.

Reprod. Photo. Perazzi; fig. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*

The ceiling, which is a barrel vault (L. 6.84, w. 4.12), and the side-walls down to about a metre from the floor are covered with grotesques subdivided by a geometrical pattern in which are the following compositions:

In the centre, a medallion: God the Father seen to the knees holding in his left hand a book on which, A. Ω. His right hand is raised in benediction. He is dressed in a brick-red mantle and brown vest. To his left, bust figure of a "putto."

Fresco. Diameter, 1.20.

Between the central medallion and the door, a small medallion: "putto" flying downward with a cross.

Between the central medallion and the window, a small medallion: "putto" flying downward with the tables of the law.

Between the central medallion and the back wall, a small medallion: "putto" flying with a blue scroll.

Between the central medallion and the right wall, a small medallion: "putto" flying with pole and crown of thorns; reddish drapery.

Frescoes. Diameter, .60; the backgrounds are purple.

These medallions are surrounded by grotesques consisting of griffons, cherubs, vases, cartouches, harpies, the diamond ring and ostrich plumes of Lorenzo with scrolls inscribed: SV|A|VE, etc. These are light purple, yellowish red and light blue on a black ground. Among these motives are various "cartelle," on which is inscribed: GLO|VI . . . |S, and four squares containing Medici arms accompanied by "putti" with various attributes and surmounted by tiara and keys.

These squares are .75 by .75.

Reprod. Photo. (in part) Perazzi.

Mentioned by Vasari. The commission for these decorations was given to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio who turned the chapel over to Pontormo. The long oval of the face of St. Veronica recalls an early drawing of Michelangelo now in the Louvre. The medallion of "God the Father" is mentioned by Borghini (*Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 392). That the decoration of this chapel, as far as its character and general effect goes, was suggested, if not determined by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, may be inferred from the decoration of the Cappella della Signoria where we

find similar grotesques as well as the motive of "putti" used in the same way. The Cappella della Signoria must have been painted between the autumn of 1513 and the summer of 1514. On June 4, 1514, according to a document that still survives, Lorenzo di Credi and Giovanni Cianfanini gave an estimate of the value of the decorations (Vasari, IV, 575; VI, 539, n. 2).

Date: 1515.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 256, 540; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 393; *On Certain Drawings,* p. 19 (where I erroneously identified Uffizi 6542 verso with one of the "putti" of the Veronica fresco); B. F. P. R., p. 175; *Dessins,* pp. 19, 34, 66, 90, 113. For the convent, see *Memorie dell' insigne monastero e chiesa di S. Maria Novella, Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani,* IX, 111 ff.; J. Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of S. Maria Novella at Florence,* Edinburgh, 1902. There are four account books of the convent in the archives of Florence dating from the period in which these decorations were executed but none of them contain any reference to our frescoes (Convento 102, No. 1, Giornale, 1516-1521, No. 56, Contratti, 1491-1779, No. 87, Ricordi, 1489-1531, No. 89, Ricordi, 1507-1527).

On the wall opposite the door is a "Crowning of the Virgin." The Madonna wears a light blue robe with yellow inner mantle and head-dress; the God the Father, a dark red mantle and purplish tunic. Light purple background; above, purple curtains. This composition has been completely repainted. The original fresco was perhaps by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.

San Michele Visdomini

HOLY FAMILY

In the centre, the Madonna enthroned, turned three-quarters right, the head full face; her left hand rests on her lap, her right points to St. Joseph; she wears a pinkish red robe and blue mantle. In the foreground right, St. Francis kneels profile left; his hands clasped before him, he gazes at the Christ Child; he wears a grey habit. Behind him stands St. James profile left, head three-quarters left, left arm at his side, right arm extended holding a staff; darkish pink drapery, grey-white sleeve. In the foreground left, St. John the Evangelist seated three-quarters right, head three-quarters left gazing up; his right arm extended at side, his hand holding a quill pen; in his lap an open book on which is written: M D viij, followed by ten lines which are illegible; he has a long curly beard and wears a grey tunic and light red mantle; on the rock on which he sits is inscribed D. N. Above him St. Joseph

is seated three-quarters right, head nearly full face; he holds on his knees the Infant Jesus; Joseph is dressed in a greyish purple robe, a greyish yellow mantle across his knees. The Christ Child stands on Joseph's left knee, weight on left leg, right leg drawn back, in his left hand a reed cross, his head inclined on his right shoulder looks up left. In the middle foreground, the young St. John seated profile left, his right leg raised; with his right hand he points to the Christ Child; his head, seen nearly full face, looks at St. Francis. The background is a dark grey stone niche and wall with dark purple curtains drawn aside, to the left, by a "putto" who stands profile right, his right arm raised, a fold of the curtain hanging across his loins. To the right stands a cherub nearly full face; his right arm extended across his body holds back the curtains.

Oil on heavy prepared paper stretched and glued on a wooden panel. H. 2.14, w. 1.85.

On the second altar to the right. Mentioned by Vasari. Painted for Francesco di Giovanni Pucci, gonfaloniere of the Republic, for the altar where it still hangs. Francesco Pucci was the son of Giovanni d'Antonio Pucci and Bartolommea di Leonardo Benivieni. He was born in 1437 and held many important offices: podestà of Bibbiena, 1478; vicario of Anghiari, 1485; castellano of the fortress of Sarzana, 1493; captain of Cutigliano, 1494; vicario of Lari, 1500. After the fall of Soderini he was elected to the balìa that reformed the state for the Medici and he was later gonfaloniere of Justice. He died in 1518, the year in which Pontormo's altar-piece was painted. The Archduchess Maria Maddalena offered one thousand "scudi" for this picture (Richa, VII, 23; Del Migliore, p. 366) but it is an unalienable part of the Pucci inheritance as is established by the "rogato" of Ser Carlo da Firenzuola. This fact would seem to militate against the assertion made by some critics and repeated by Goldschmidt that the panel once in the Doetsch Collection was the original. The Doetsch Catalogue (Richter), it is true, holds the picture then part of that collection to be the original and adds that it was replaced in San Michele by a copy. Berenson too once gave the Doetsch picture as authentic but in his latest list he is of the opinion that our panel is Pontormo's. We may, moreover, remark that Milanesi in his note on this altar-piece (VI, 258, n. 3) states that it was carefully cleaned and restored in 1823 by Luigi Scotti who found that over the wooden panel a sheet of paper had been

stretched upon which the picture had been painted. The Doetsch picture was on canvas, and the catalogue informs us that the copy substituted in San Michele in the first part of the last century was painted on paper stretched on a panel. It seems hardly likely that Scotti would have been asked to restore a new copy. This combination of facts seems to point to the present version as the original, and such scrutiny as I have been able to give it has not led me to doubt its authenticity, although the church is so badly lighted that a thorough examination is impossible. The altar was erected in 1518 and restored in 1872. On a marble slab under it one reads: FRANCISCUS PUCCIUS · IO: ANTONII FIL · SIBI · SUISQUE · POSTERIS| ET VOLENTI · EX · FAMILIA POSUIT.

Condition: cleaned and restored.

Date: 1518.

Drawings: possible first idea for the St. John Evangelist, Uffizi 6742 recto (photo. Pini; F. M. C.); first thoughts for the little St. John, Corsini 124232 (fig. 14; photo. F. M. C.); Uffizi 6678 (photo. F. M. C.); sketches for the same figure, Corsini 124244 (fig. 15; photo. F. M. C.); Uffizi 6545 (fig. 18; photo. F. M. C.) reversed; Uffizi 6554 (photo. Houghton; Pini; fig., *Vita d'arte,* No. 57, p. 3); study for the same, Uffizi 7452; sketch for the left leg of same, Uffizi 6551 (fig. 16; photo. F. M. C.); finished study for the head of St. Joseph, Uffizi 6581 recto (fig. 22; photo. Houghton; Pini); studies for the "putto" to the right who draws back the curtains and sketch for the folds of the curtain, Uffizi 6662 (fig. 21; photo. Houghton); first thought for the Christ Child, Uffizi 6744 verso (fig. 19; photo. F. M. C.), which may also represent an idea for the little St. John reversed; study for the Christ Child, Uffizi 6520 (photo. Pini; F. M. C.); study for the head of the same, Uffizi 654 (fig. 20; photo. Braun, Florence 388; Alinari; Pini; F. M. C.); first thought for the St. Francis, Uffizi 6742 verso (photo. F. M. C.); sketch for the same, Uffizi 6525; study for the same, Uffizi 6744 (fig. 23; photo. Houghton; Pini; F. M. C.); first thought for the Madonna's head, Uffizi 6551 verso (fig. 17; photo. F. M. C.); study for the head-dress of the same, Uffizi 6520 verso; first idea for the torse and legs of St. James, Uffizi 6579 verso; first thought for the same figure, Uffizi 7452 verso; possible first idea for the whole composition, Corsini 124229 (photo. F. M. C.). In the Descrizione dei disegni della galleria Gabburri in Firenze (Bibl. Naz. Fir., A XVIII, No. 33) we find the following mention of a drawing for the present panel: "No. 13. Altro compagno con quantità di figure di penna e acquarelli rappresentante la Vergine che siede in alto col bambino Gesù, S. Giovambattista piccolo, S. Francesco e altri Santi. Opera singolarissima del celebre Iacopo da Pontormo: ed e lo stesso che si vede in una tavola da altare nella chiesa di S. Michele Bisdomini in Firenze." The Gabburri Collection was sold to Kent (1742) who afterwards sold it in London. Mariette had a

poor opinion of it. We cannot tell, of course, whether the drawing in question was authentic or merely a copy of the picture, but the chances are that it was a copy.

Documents: Neither the Libro di Copie di Contratti di Casa Pucci 1479-1574 (A. S. F., Carte Riccardi, No. 605) nor Strumenti dal 1516 al 1529 dei Signori Pucci, segnato C. (*idem,* No. 606) contains any record of the contract for this picture.

Reprod. Fig. 13; photo. Alinari 20313. Ancient copy in the former Doetsch Collection sold in London in 1895 for 10,500 frcs., of which the provenance and fate are unknown (fig., Doetsch Catalogue).

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 258; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 393; Bocchi, p. 403; Del Migliore, p. 366; Richa, VII, 23; *Ristretto,* p. 53; B. F. D., I, 314, n.; II, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 149, 150, 153; B. F. P. R., p. 175; Jacobsen, *Repertorium,* XXI, 281; Morelli, *Borghese and Doria Pamfili Galleries,* p. 130; *Catalogue of the Collection of Henry Doetsch,* London, 1895, p. 31; *Dessins,* pp. 19, 34, 38, 55, 67, 109, 111, 128, 129, 131, 145, 148, 150, 151, 165, 166, 215, 221, 228, 229, 242, 261, 271, 273, 274, 282, 305, 335, 336, 342; *On Certain Drawings,* pp. 6, 20.

Palazzo Capponi

Collection of Marchese Farinola

MADONNA AND LITTLE ST. JOHN

The Virgin, full face, seen to the waist, wears a scarlet robe, a dark violet scarf about her auburn hair. The Christ Child kneels profile right with his right knee on a cream-coloured sack over which a green drapery is thrown. To the right of this sack one sees the head and shoulders of the little St. John, torse profile left, head full face; behind him, his cross of reeds. Across the foreground runs a parapet of greenish stone-colour. The background is greyish green.

Oil on wood. H. 1.00, w. .65.

Provenance and history unknown. It would be the merest conjecture to venture the suggestion that this may be the panel that Vasari says Pontormo painted for Lodovico Capponi's own room (VI, 272; cf. also, Borghini, p. 395). The children's faces are Leonardesque and recall the Visdomini altar-piece; the modelling too has the same soft quality, but the colour is paler.

Condition: excellent.

Date: 1517-1518.

Bibl. Morelli, *op. cit.,* p. 130; B. F. P. R., p. 175.

Palazzo Corsini

141. MADONNA AND LITTLE ST. JOHN

The Madonna, seated three-quarters right, is seen almost to the knees, her head turned slightly to the left. She wears a light red dress with yellow sleeves, blue-green mantle and violet head-dress; her hair is red. She supports the Christ Child who stands, full face, on her left knee, his right foot forward, his left hand raised in blessing. He is blond. A narrow drapery crosses his body. In the lower left corner, the head and shoulders of St. John, seen full face; he has red hair and draws about him a part of the Madonna's mantle. The background is a landscape: to the right, hill and trees; to the left, a round low tower with conical roof, a lofty donjon, a little church with belfry, and lightly indicated olive-trees; the sky is a greenish blue.

Oil on wood. H. .87, w. .67.

Attributed to Rosso or Bacchiacca. Berenson ascribes it correctly to Pontormo. There is something in the composition that reminds one of Andrea's "Madonna di Borgo Pinti," of which there is a good copy by Empoli in this collection (No. 121); the little church faintly suggests the background of Dürer's larger woodcut, the "Kreuztragung"; the little St. John recalls Michelangelo's "tondo" of the "Holy Family." Cruttwell inaccurately states that Berenson ascribes this picture to Bacchiacca.

Condition: excellent; a slight vertical crack to the left has been repaired.

Date: 1528-1529.

Reprod. Fig. 103; photo. Brogi, 17626.

Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 175; Uld. Medici, *Catalogo della Galleria dei Principi Corsini in Firenze,* Firenze: Mariani, 1880; Cruttwell, *Florentine Churches,* p. 85.

185. MADONNA AND LITTLE ST. JOHN

The Madonna sits facing, her right foot advanced, her head slightly inclined on her right shoulder. She has blond hair and wears a light red robe, a blue mantle, a fold of which is draped across her lap, and a violet and yellow scarf. She holds to the left the Christ Child, who is also blond and stands facing, his right hand raised in sign of benediction. He wears a greenish loin-cloth. On the right, St. John seated, facing; he has red hair; his head, turned three-quarters left, gazes at the Madonna; a drapery is wound about his loins and passes over his left arm; he holds a scroll on which is written: ECCE| AGNUS| DEI; below him to the right, his cross of reeds.

The background consists of rocks and trees; the foreground of rocks, earth and little plants.

Oil on wood. H. .52, w. .40.

Condition: exeellent.

Date: 1526-1528.

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 4546.

Bibl. See above and Cruttwell, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Palazzo Davanzati

BIRTH-PLATE: NATIVITY OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

The composition is the same as that of the birth-plate now in the Uffizi (No. 1198). The robe of the woman to the left is pale yellow; the woman bending with the child in her arms wears a light yellow tunic and white turban; St. Elizabeth, white head-dress; the coverlet of her bed, dark green; Zacharias, red tunic, dark blue mantle, white sleeves. On his tablets he writes: JOHANNES.

On the back in the midst of tasselled red ribbons, a bearing; to the right, the arms of the Antinori; to the left, those of the San Giovanni or of the Ughi—it is hard to say which because the colours have faded (Priorista di Monaldi, p. 243 verso).

Oil on wood. Diameter, .52.

Provenance unknown. The colour-scheme differs somewhat from that of the Uffizi birth-plate, though the composition is identical. There the woman to the left wears a red dress; the woman in the centre, a reddish violet turban and orange dress; Zacharias, a yellow tunic and red mantle. I have been unable to ascertain whether this is the birth-plate that Berenson cites in the Butler Collection, which was recently dispersed. The date of our "piatto" could be accurately determined if the date of the marriage indicated by the arms was known. Beside it and purporting to be the original sketch for it, is exhibited a poor late sixteenth century copy in bistre heightened with white laid on in strokes on grey paper (h. .41, w. .32).

Condition: practically untouched but faded.

Date: about 1530.

Palazzo Pitti

182. MARTYRDOM OF ST. MAURICE

Composition of over eighty figures. On the left, on a dais approached by brownish steps, sits Maximianus as judge; in the extreme left corner, a man with his back turned who carries a basket; in the foreground to the left and to the extreme right, martyrs with their hands tied behind them being driven away to sacrifice; on the left and farther back, martyrs pursued and slain by naked horsemen; above the latter, on a mound, an angel baptizing the souls of the slain; above them, in the clouds, three angels shooting arrows at the executioners; on another brown mound to the right, martyrs crucified or lying on the ground wounded or slain; at the foot of this mound an angel who picks up nails. The colour-scheme is as follows: figure in the foreground right, red hair, red tights to the knees, yellow jacket with sash, blue sleeves, mole-grey scarf, yellow-brown basket; Maximianus, brown hair, light green vest, violet-red mantle, under him a grey drapery; to his right, angel picking up nails, pale greenish blue drapery; standard in the centre, red with a blue stripe; in front of it a figure in yellow on horseback; among the horsemen, touches of scarlet given by their caps; figure to the extreme left, blue-green drapery; standard to the extreme left, orange with a blue stripe; draped figure to the left, blue robe; angel baptizing, tunic of reddish yellow; shields, some red, some yellow; touches here and there among the martyrs of red; sky, green; landscape, brown; steps and platform, brown; flesh-tones pale with brown shadows.

Oil on wood. H. .65, w. .70.

Painted for the women of the Hospital of the Innocents according to Vasari (VI, 275) who praises this panel extravagantly. A variant exists in the Uffizi which was executed for Carlo Neroni (Vasari, *ibid.*). The present picture was still in the Hospital in 1565 and greatly prized by Vincenzo Borghini, who at that time was prior of the institution. Biscioni in his notes on Raffaello Borghini states that, when he wrote, it was no longer at the Innocents. Richa in the late eighteenth century knew that it still existed, but the editors of the Milan edition of Vasari (1811) speak of it as lost (XII, 43, n. 1) as also does the Roman edition of the "Lives." When and under what circumstances it passed into the Pitti I do not know. The panel is a curious mixture of nudes inspired by Michelangelo's early work and horsemen that are reminiscent of the "Battle of Anghiari." We may measure the extent to which Jacopo was influenced by the studies that he must have made in his youth

of Leonardo's lost masterpiece by comparing this picture with fragmentary copies of the "Battle of Anghiari" known to us in Leonardo's sketches, in London, Venice and Windsor; Raphael's sketch, in the University Galleries, Oxford; Cesare da Sesto's drawing, in Windsor; Rubens' drawing in coloured chalks, in the Louvre, which is a copy of a copy; a drawing in the British Museum which is a copy of the right-hand figure of the central group; an old copy in oils, in the magazine of the Uffizi (part of central group); a smaller painting of part of the same group, Collection Timbal, Paris; a large late sixteenth century copy, in oils on canvas, of an earlier copy, now in the collection of the late Herbert Horne, Florence; the engraving by Edelinck; the engraving by Lorenzo Zacchia (1558). Jacopo is perhaps at his feeblest here and in the Uffizi variant; the colour is arid, the composition and modelling laboured.

Condition: The panel has been cut down on the left side; it is otherwise relatively untouched.

Date: 1528-1529.

Drawings: possible study for the nude to the left of the angel that baptizes the martyrs, Corsini 124236 (photo. F. M. C.); modified variant of the upper left quarter of the composition, Hamburg 21253 (fig. 108; B. F. D., pl. CLXXII).

Documents: If the women of the hospital paid for this picture the transaction would probably not appear in the records of the Institution. At any rate, in the Archives of the Innocents I have found no trace of this panel. I have examined the following account-books: Debitori e Creditori, C, 1510-1526; D, 1526-1533; E, 1533-1539; F, 1539-1544; G, 1545-1551; H, 1551-1554; Giornale I, 1532-1539; Entrata e Uscita, D, 1527-1528; xx, 1528; y, 1528; yy, 1529; z, 1530; A, 1531; B, 1532; C, 1533; D, 1534; E, 1535; F, 1536; G, 1537; H, 1538.

Reprod. Fig. 106; variant, Uffizi, No. 1187; old copy in the Jarves Collection, New Haven, No. 79; photo. Braun 42182; Alinari; Brogi 7892; fig., Goldschmidt, *op. cit.;* Vasari, trans. de Vere, VII, 170.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 275; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 395; Richa, VIII, 130; Chiavacci, *Guida della R. Galleria del Palazzo Pitti,* 3d ed., Firenze, 1864, p. 90; 3d ed. (in French), Prato, p. 164; Müntz, *Renaissance,* Paris, 1895, III, 499; B. F. D., I, 320; II, 154; B. F. P. R., p. 174; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries,* p. 215; *Dessins,* pp. 35, 40, 56, 71, 127, 225, 256, 290, 338.

233. ST. ANTHONY

Half-length; seen three-quarters right, head full face; in his right hand a rustic cross, in his left a white scroll which passes to the right across the

lower part of the picture and bears the inscription: ES| DEI| ESTO| LITATE| VICT; he wears a black mantle with a dull grey-purple sleeve; the flesh-tones are reddish brown; the background, green-brown.

Oil on canvas. H. .78, w. .66.

Not mentioned by Vasari; provenance unknown. This is a good example of Pontormo's most mannered period (1540-1550). Part of the inscription is covered by the frame.

Condition: darkened with heavy varnish and covered with minute cracks but otherwise uninjured.

Date: 1540-1545.

Reprod. Small replica in a private collection, in Florence; photo. Alinari; Brogi 7893.

Bibl. Chiavacci, *op. cit.,* 3d ed., p. 112; *idem* (in French), p. 167; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries,* p. 164; B. F. P. R., p. 175.

249. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Bust figure, seen in profile to left. He is clean shaven, has grey hair and wears a black coat with a small white frill at the neck and a greenish black cap. The background is a slate-grey.

Oil on wood. H. .50, w. .39.

The traditional title was "Portrait of an Unknown Man." E. Schaeffer thinks, not without a considerable show of reason, that we have here a portrait of Francesco da Castiglione, "canonico fiorentino." And it is true, as Schaeffer points out, that the same face, seen at a slightly different angle, does appear in Vasari's fresco, in the Palazzo Vecchio, "The Entry of Leo X into Florence," and that Pontormo's portrait would seem to have served Vasari as a prototype, although in the fresco the prelate appears "in pontificalibus," that is, in a reddish violet mantle and carrying, as "suddiacono," the cross of the Pope. In his "Ragionamenti" (VIII, Rag. III, 142) Vasari writes in describing his fresco: "P. ... chi è quel prete, vecchio, magro, rosso, che fa l'uffizzio di suddiacono con quella toga rossa, portando la croce di papa? G. Quello è M. Francesco da Castiglione, canonico fiorentino, il quale ha accanto a sè, e sopra, tutti i segretari del papa." This is clear enough identification. We may, however, notice that Castiglione does not

seem to be definitely mentioned by Paris de Grassis in his "De ingressu summi pont. Leonis X Florentiam" (ed. Moreni, Florentiae, MDCCXCIII), and what is more important the date of his death is not known. Schaeffer, who thinks that he died rather soon after 1515, conjectures from the yellow tone of the picture and from the shape of the nostril that it is an example of the early work of Pontormo — perhaps the earliest portrait we possess from his hand. Such an opinion shows a total absence of any sense of quality as well as a complete misunderstanding of Pontormo's development as a painter. The yellow tone — the picture had not yet been cleaned — was of course due to the thickening and darkening of old varnish and the shape of the nostril, which may not inconceivably have been characteristic of the sitter, is certainly not an index of Pontormo's early work. In this panel, which Morelli also errs in placing early, we have one of the most intense and masterly of Jacopo's portraits of men. The economy of means with which an effect of rough-hewn strength is given is remarkable and the modelling, the colour, the severity of the conception, all point indubitably to Pontormo's later period, when he had evolved a personal style quite free from the influence of Andrea which had predominated in his work between 1514 and 1517. This may well be a portrait of Castiglione, but in that case he was still living as late as 1534, and until the date of his death is determined Schaeffer's identification must remain a conjecture.

Condition: excellent; the background has been retouched and the panel has recently been cleaned.

Date: 1534-1535.

Reprod. Fig. 125; photo. Alinari; Brogi 7894; fig., article cited below with two figs. of Vasari's fresco; fig., Müntz, *Renaissance,* Paris, 1895, III, 143.

Bibl. Chiavacci, *op. cit.,* p. 120; 3d ed. (French), p. 163; Morelli, *op. cit.,* p. 129, n.; B. F. P. R., p. 175; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries,* p. 210; E. Schaeffer, *Ein Bildnis Pontormos im Palazzo Pitti, Monatshefte, f. Kunstwissenschaft,* March, 1910, p. 115.

379. ADORATION OF THE MAGI

Composition of about ninety figures. To the extreme right, two shepherds kneel almost profile left; they have grey hair and are dressed in grey clothes; to their left, St. Joseph, seated profile left, wears a pinkish white tunic and white tights; the Madonna, who stands near by turned three-quarters left, wears a red dress and blue mantle; Elizabeth, turned three-quarters left, is dressed in a pale lilac robe, grey mantle and white head-dress; the first King, who kneels almost profile right before the Christ Child, wears a dress of cloth of gold with blue sleeves; his companion stands profile right, wearing blue cap, fur collar, large blue sleeves, and he holds a red bundle under his arm; his second companion stands profile right dressed in yellow; the man who bends forward behind the latter is clad in green-black and holds in his left hand a blue hat; the men in the group immediately behind the parapet wear red jackets and blue hats or blue jackets and red hats; the second King, who stands three-quarters right, wears a robe embroidered in gold, red cloak with pale lavender sleeves and blue turban; the man to his right is dressed in red; the figure seen over his shoulder in dark blue tunic and dark blue cap; the third King is dressed in a dark yellow robe with red sleeves and red turban; the man on the left, who presents a vase to him, has brown hair and wears a yellow tunic and red tights; the next figure to the left has blue tights and sleeves and a yellow tunic; the figure to his right, white tunic and scarlet tights; behind the parapet, many spectators; in the distance, two converging processions of horsemen; in their costumes blue and red predominate; in the background at the left, low knolls covered with delicate trees; in the centre, a city gate with towers; to the right, three buildings in the style of the early Renaissance; the foreground, brown; paths, brownish yellow; fields, greenish brown; penthouse, brown; buildings, various shades of yellow, white, and brown; sky, blue and green.

Oil on wood. H. .85, w. 1.91.

Believed to be the panel that Pontormo painted for Giovanmaria Benintendi (Vasari, VI, 264, note). Franciabigio and Bacchiacca also painted for Benintendi pictures of about the same dimensions and shape (Vasari, V, 196; VI, 455). These are now in the Dresden Gallery (Nos. 75 and 80), where Franciabigio's is dated 1523, and in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (No. 267). The decorative woodwork of the room of which this "Adoration" formed part was by Baccio d'Agnolo (Vasari, V, 352). Waetzoldt believes, I think without reason, the figure to the extreme left to be a portrait of Pontormo himself.

Condition: excellent.

Date: 1518-1519.

Drawings: sketches for one of the horsemen in the middle distance,

Uffizi 6518 and 6722 (fig. 34; photo. Houghton); sketch of the horse of the same, Uffizi 6558 verso.

Reprod. Fig. 33; engraving, Luigi Bardi, *Galleria Pitti,* IV; photo. Braun 42379; Alinari; Brogi 7895; fig., Vasari, trans. de Vere, VII, 147.

Bibl. Vasari, V, 196; VI, 264; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 393; Chiavacci, *op. cit.,* p. 164; 3d ed. (French), p. 167; B. F. P. R., p. 175; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries,* p. 217; Waetzoldt, *Die Kunst des Porträts,* p. 345; Schubring, *Cassoni,* p. 404 f.; *Dessins,* pp. 35, 39, 68, 118, 127, 256, 269; *On Certain Drawings,* p. 21.

Palazzo Vecchio

Ufficio delle Belle Arti

CARRO DELLA ZECCA

Four "putti" with a bird.
Ruined.
Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

Four "putti" playing with a shield.
Ruined.

Four "putti" playing with arrows and a ribbon.
Ruined.

Six "putti"; to the left one carries another on his head; in the centre two carry a sphere.
Ruined.

Four "putti" playing together; one holds a shield which rests on the ground.
Ruined.

Three "putti"; one in the centre rides a lamb which one to the left leads; another, to the right, carries a bundle.
Ruined.

Two "putti" and two cherubs.
Completely repainted.
Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

Eight "putti"; two on a table that the others surround; one, to the right, carries a large bundle.
Ruined.
Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.
The preceding eight pieces are in monochrome, oil on wood. H. .32, w. .44.

Two "putti" supporting a gilded shield (Medici arms and those of Florence).

Two "putti" supporting a shield (Medici arms and those of Florence).

The preceding two panels are in monochrome, oil on wood. H. .28, w. .56.

Baptism of Christ.

Hair, blond; drapery, purplish white; background, black.

Oil on wood. H. .69, w. .45.

Grossly repainted.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

Visitation.

The Virgin wears a purple robe, blue mantle, white head-dress; St. Elizabeth, orange robe, white head-dress.

Oil on wood. H. .69, w. .45.

Completely repainted.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

Prophet.

Full-length; stands nearly full face holding to the left a book supported on a lectern in the form of a child; robe, white; background, black; step, greenish.

Oil on wood. H. .69, w. .45.

Completely repainted.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

St. Zenobius.

Stands nearly full face; the episcopal glove on his right hand which is raised in benediction; white vestments, black background.

Repainted.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

The Baptist.

Stands turned three-quarters right; right arm raised, left hand holds a staff; purplish grey shirt, black background.

Oil on wood. H. .69, w. .45.

Repainted.

Drawing: sketch for the whole figure, Uffizi 6581 verso. (Fig. 8; photo. F. M. C.).

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

St. Matthew.

Stands turned three-quarters left; in his hands he holds a book; green vest; purplish mantle. On the right a cherub flying downward speaks to him.

Oil on wood. H. .69, w. .45.

Repainted.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

The Preaching of St. John.

Composition of sixteen figures. In the centre, St. John stands turned three-quarters right; in his left hand a cross, his right raised; to the left, seven figures, one of which kneels in the foreground with right arm outstretched; to the right, eight figures, one of which, a woman, kneels holding a child.

Oil on wood. H. .59, w. 1.28.

Completely ruined.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

Baptism of Christ.

In the centre, St. John baptizing Christ; to the right, a man seated who takes off his tunic; to the left, a man seated seen from behind.

Oil on wood. H. .50, w. 1.28.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

Beheading of John the Baptist.

In the centre John kneels; the executioner, seen from behind, holds a sword in his right hand and with his left grasps by the hair the saint's severed head holding it out to Salome who advances from the left with a plate held in her extended hands; to the extreme left, a man seen from behind; to the right, the barred window of the prison and two spectators.

Oil on wood. H. .50, w. 1.28.

Completely ruined.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

St. John in the Wilderness.

To the left, St. John seated on a rock; to the right, the meeting of John and Christ.

Oil on wood. H. .50, w. 1.28.

Completely ruined.

These panels once formed part of the Carro della Zecca painted for the Corporation of the Mint and were exhibited every year in the procession of the feast of St. John. In 1810, during the occupation of Florence by the French, the car was broken up. The fragments enumerated above were once in the city store-rooms; recently they have been placed in the Ufficio delle Belle Arti. Milanesi states (VI, 257) that eighteen pieces survive; there are in reality twenty. The woodwork of the car, now lost, was by Marco del Tasso who carved much of the woodwork of the choir of the Badia and was a well-known engineer and architect (Vasari, III, 350-353). The composition of the "Beheading of John" is a free copy of the "predella"

panel of the same subject ascribed to Andrea and now in the Academy at Florence (No. 77).

Date: 1515.

Documents: The records of the Zecca between 1510 and 1530 have been lost.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 256; Borghini, ed. 1730, p. 393; *Dessins,* pp. 34, 38, 39, 66, 99, 167.

Uffizi

1177. MADONNA ENTHRONED

In the centre, the Madonna seated on a throne facing the spectator; her hair is brown and she wears a red dress and a blue-green mantle edged with gold the ample folds of which lie across her knees; her right hand points downward to the angels at her feet, her left hand supports the Christ Child who stands on her left knee, his left leg bent, his right hand raised in benediction. At the foot of the throne on the right of the Virgin, St. Francis seen in profile to left, his left arm extended at his side, his right laid upon his breast; his robe is grey. On the left, St. Jerome, profile right and dressed in a blue-grey tunic and blue-pink drapery, his hands clasping to his breast a stone. In the centre on the steps of the throne, two little angels seated, facing, with a lamb between them; they have auburn hair and dark wings edged with gold. In the background, which is dark grey, the outlines of the throne are dimly visible.

Oil on wood. H. .72, w. .60.

Not mentioned by Vasari. Formerly ascribed to Rosso; correctly given to Pontormo by Berenson. The composition reminds one somewhat of Andrea's "Marriage of St. Catherine," now in Dresden.

Condition: unfinished and retouched.

Date: 1517-1518.

Drawing: study (reversed) which may have served for the St. Jerome, Uffizi 6742 verso (photo. F. M. C.).

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 175; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries,* p. 98; *Dessins,* pp. 67, 271.

1187. MARTYRDOM OF ST. MAURICE

This picture may be divided into three planes. In the foreground, the massacre of the Theban Legion; nearly all the figures are nude; the prevailing

flesh-tone is a light brown. Through a defile in the low hills other soldiers arrive; the standard on the right is a dull red, that on the left, green; the ground is various shades of brown. In the middle distance, on the left, raised on a little mound, an angel baptizes the souls of the slain; on the right, a grove of trees in which other soldiers of the Legion are crucified. Between these two groups, behind a dip in the landscape, a glimpse of the domes and spires of Florence (?); in the sky, flying out of the clouds, three angels who hurl arrows at the executioners.

Oil on wood covered with a layer of "gesso." H. .64, w. .43.

Painted according to Vasari for Carlo Neroni. This panel is a modified replica of the same subject now in the Pitti (No. 182). When and how our picture entered the Uffizi is unknown to me.

Condition: chipped here and there but unrestored.

Drawing: variant of the whole composition in which, however, the same figures appear, Hamburg 21253 (fig. 108).

Reprod. Fig. 107; photo. F. M. C.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 275; B. F. D., I, 320; II, 142, 152, 154; B. F. P. R., p. 175; *Catalogue de la R. Galerie de Florence*, Florence, 1864, p. 138; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries*, p. 92; *Dessins*, pp. 35, 40, 56, 71, 127, 225, 256, 290, 338.

1198. BIRTH-PLATE

Birth of St. John the Baptist. A group of seven figures and the newborn child. St. Elizabeth sits upon her couch, head and shoulders facing, surrounded by her friends and serving-maids; to her left, Zacharias seated by the couch, profile left, writes on his tablets the name of the child: IO. St. Elizabeth wears a white scarf over her head and a violet-grey dress. The bedclothes are a greenish blue. Zacharias is dressed in pinkish red with yellow jacket and brown stockings. The woman who stands behind him and bends forward to the left to see the writing wears a blue-green dress and over her head a white scarf. The woman in the centre of the composition who holds the child stands nearly profile to the right and is dressed in an orange-yellow robe with a red scarf on her head. The woman to the extreme left stands profile right and wears a pinkish red dress with a white scarf on her head. Next to the last mentioned, a woman with a fan leans forward; she has red hair and is dressed in green. To her right, in the middle background, the head and shoulders facing of a figure draped in violet. A green looped-up curtain forms the background behind St. Elizabeth; the rest of the background is black above and brown below. On the back of the plate, a bearing with above, to left and right, "putti." The blazon is divided vertically. The arms to the right may be those of the Della Casa family; those to the left, of the Tornaquinci (blue and gold quarterings); but the alteration of the colours makes identification of these "stemmi" problematical.

Oil on wood. Diameter, .54.

Provenance unknown. The composition is identical with that of the birth-plate now in the Palazzo Davanzati, but the colour-scheme is more varied. There the woman to the left is dressed in pale yellow, the turban of the woman in the centre is white, Zacharias' tunic, red and his mantle, blue. I have not discovered the date of the marriage indicated by the arms. Cruttwell, who is followed by Goldschmidt, states that this "piatto" was painted for Elisabetta Tornaquinci, wife of Paolo Aldighieri. Schubring erroneously gives the arms as those of the Monte di Pietà. Cf. in this catalogue, under Palazzo Davanzati, Florence, and in the Catalogue of Attributed Pictures, under Butler Collection.

Condition: excellent; the colours have faded somewhat.

Date: 1529-1530.

Drawing: In the former Lamponi Collection, Florence, there was a red-chalk study (h. 220, w. 140 mm.) for the head and shoulders of the woman to the extreme left. I have not seen this drawing and from the poor cut in the *Lamponi Catalogue* (Florence, 1902, pl. XX, No. 356) I cannot tell whether it is an original sketch or a copy.

Reprod. Fig. 114; photo. Brogi 14763.

Bibl. *Catalogue de la R. Galerie de Florence,* p. 140; B. F. P. R., p. 175; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries,* p. 98; Schubring, *Cassoni,* Leipzig, 1915, p. 407, Nos. 834 and 835; Müntz, *Les plateaux d'accouchées et la peinture sur meubles du XIVe au XVIe siècle,* Monuments Piot.

1220. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Bust figure turned three-quarters left; he looks at the spectator and has brown hair and a sparse brown beard; he wears a black velvet hat and a black coat with turned down embroidered linen collar. The background is brown.

Oil on wood. H. .65, w. .49.

Provenance unknown. The treatment is faithful but dry. There is no evidence to support the conjecture that this is the portrait of Carlo Neroni (Vasari, VI, 275) for whom the "Martyrdom of St. Maurice," which hangs near by, was painted.

Condition: excellent; a small piece has been added at the top of the panel.

Date: 1530-1532.

Reprod. Fig. 118; photo. F. M. C.

Bibl. Catalogue cited above, p. 142; B. F. P. R., p. 175; Cruttwell, *op. cit.,* p. 142.

1284. VENUS AND CUPID

Venus reclines, her head to the right, her feet to the left; she faces the spectator, her head profile left, and supports herself on her left elbow which is raised and rests on a heap of drapery; her right arm is outstretched, the hand touching one of Cupid's arrows; her golden hair is partially covered by a head-dress. To the left Cupid stands, his weight on his right foot, his left leg raised and passed over the right hip of Venus; his right hand rests on a sheaf of arrows, his left arm passed under his mother's chin, his face, seen in profile, resting against hers; his hair is blond and curly, his wings outstretched behind him. To the extreme left, a stone altar on which a vase of flowers, a bundle of arrows and a piece of drapery; across one corner of it hangs a bow from which two masks are suspended, one of a satyr, the other of a man; on the side of the altar, a bas-relief of a fallen figure. In the middle distance, a rocky hillock; behind, distant hills and sky.

Oil on wood. H. 1.27, w. 1.91.

Painted for Bartolomeo Bettini from a cartoon drawn by Michelangelo (Vasari, VI, 277). Bettini planned to place it in a room of his decorated by Bronzino with portraits of Tuscans who had written of love: Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and others. Certain interested people, however, took the panel almost by force from Pontormo and gave it to the Duke Alessandro who paid him fifty "scudi" for it. As a result of this high-handed action, for which Jacopo could hardly be held responsible, Michelangelo was alienated from our master. The painting was famous throughout the sixteenth century. Varchi (*Due Lezzioni,* Florence, 1549, pp. 104, 278 f.) speaks of it in the following terms: "Non dice egli che gli uomini medesimi si sono innamorati delle statue di marmo, come avvenne alla Venere di Prassitele, benchè questo stesso avviene ancora oggi tutto il giorno nella Venere che disegnò Michelagnolo a M. Bartolommeo Bettini, colorita di mano di M. Jacopo Pontormo." It hung in the Salotto della Duchessa in the Palazzo Vecchio (Inventorio della Guardaroba per M. Giul. del Tovaglia, XXV oct., 1553, p., 13 verso: "Uno quadro di pittura drentovi una Venere con Cupido et fornimento di noce intagliato, et cortina di taffetà verde di Jac° da Pontolmo"; cf. Conti, *Prima reggia,* p. 34). It is also mentioned in the Inventorio generale a capi (Guardaroba, No. 30, 1553-1560), p. 54. The present panel was

found in 1850 in the Guardaroba generale.[1] The figure of Venus had been covered in part with a wretchedly painted scarf (Milanesi, VI, 292). This and other retouches were removed and in 1861 the picture was hung in the second room of the Tuscan school in the Uffizi. Berenson, Milanesi, and Thode believe it to be Pontormo's original and their conviction seems to be well founded. But owing to the panel's present condition its authenticity can only be proved by tracing it through the various inventories of the Guardaroba between 1550 and 1850. This has not been done. Gamba thinks that it resembles too closely other known variants of this subject to permit the definite assertion of its authenticity. The first German edition of Vasari erroneously states that the original is in the Museum of Naples. Selwyn Brinton finds the Venus a mere "coarse imitation (!) of the Michelangelesque." Concerning the symbolism of the picture, see Thode, III, 486. The following sonnet inspired by this picture is quoted by Frey (*Dichtungen,* p. 271, No. CLXXIX):

Sopra la miracolosa pittura de la Venere, da Michel' Agnolo disegnata et da il Pontormo colorita.

Deh, perché 'l bello et il buono, com' io vorrei,
Non posso à pien' di te spiegare in carte!
Che la natura esser' vinta da l'arte
A chi mai non ti vidde, mosterrai.
Se cosi bella in ciel Venere sei,
Come si vede qui parte per parte,
Ben puossi, et con ragion, felice Marte,
Anzi beato dir fra gli altri i dei.

Non han le rose, le viole et i gigli
Si puro, acceso, vivo, almo colore,
Ne l'oro ne i rubin si dolce ardore.

Cosa mortal non è che ti somigli,
Et che sia 'l ver; di te piagato il core,
Si sforza, quant' ci puo, baciarti Amore.

[1] The editor of the 1832-1838 edition of Vasari was aware of the existence of this picture in the Guardaroba.

Condition: completely repainted and restored by Ulisse Forni who spent months on the undertaking.

Date: 1533-1535.

Drawings: Since Michelangelo furnished the cartoon for this picture we have naturally no study for it from the hand of Pontormo. Variants in which Jacopo rehandled the motive may be studied in two small sketches, Uffizi 444 and 446; in the masterful black-chalk, Uffizi 6534; in Uffizi 6586 (fig. 133), drawn perhaps for the frescoes at Castello; in Uffizi 6684 (reversed). The drawings Uffizi 6655 and Louvre 1029 are late copies of the picture. The Naples cartoon is also a copy. The sketch by Michelangelo in the British Museum (1859-6-25-553) considered by some critics to be an idea for this composition is believed by Berenson to be a first thought for a "Samson and Delilah."

Documents: see above.

Copies: A close copy at Hampton Court thought by Thode to be by Bronzino or Salviati, and by Law to be by Bronzino, although it is only the work of the latter's "bottega"; cf. *Handbook to the Public Galleries in and near London,* London, 1842, II, 360; Duppa, p. 329; Fagan, p. 143; a second altered copy in the same collection; a variant, once the property of Prof. d'Alton of Bonn who believed it to be a Michelangelo and had an etching made of it (Kugler, *Kunstblatt,* 1842, p. 42; *Kleine Schriften,* II, 358), was brought to the Berlin Gallery in 1841, was later in the magazine of the museum and still later was placed in the gallery at Hildesheim (1884); a variant sold in Florence sometime before 1880; two copies in the Guardaroba in Florence; a small copy once owned by the heirs of Luigi Riccieri in Florence (according to Milanesi from the end of the sixteenth century); the cartoon (682, XXV) in the Museum of Naples in which the dish and the flowers are no longer visible and which was once believed to be Michelangelo's original design for this work; a close early copy in the same museum (No. 22, VIII, 13), of the same size as the present panel, once ascribed to Bronzino, by Thode with a query to Salviati, but now with more reason to Alessandro Allori; a copy once in the possession of Edmond Blanc in Paris which was perhaps the same as that mentioned by Milanesi as having been sold and taken out of Tuscany; a variant in the Städtisches Museum of Erfurt. Several copies are mentioned in old inventories: (1) In the inventory of 1635 of the palace at Turin (Vesme, *Le Gall. Naz. ital.,* III, 52, No. 437): "Venere nuda stesa in terra con Amore che la bacia et alcune mascare con arco e saette, in tavola D. M. A. Buonarroti. Singolarissimo e de' migliori. A. p. 2.2 1/2. L. p. 3 1/2." Vesme adds that Carlo Emanuele had the picture burned. (2) In the 1685 *Verzeichniss der Gemäldesammlung des Heidelberger Schlosses* (Thode und Zangemeister, *Mitth. des Heidelb. Schlossvereins,* III, 197, No. 230): "Venus et cupido, durch Angeli Bonarota." (3) A copy in the Galleria Gustiniani in Rome (Vasi, *Itin. istrutivo di Roma,* p. 429). (4) There was also in the eighteenth century a wall painting of the same subject in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome, which was held to be a Michelangelo; cf. Titi, *Descrizione di Roma,* 1763, p. 333: "Una Venere giacente, dipinta sul muro, pittura antica, che ha molto della maniera del Bonarroti, onde alcuni la credono di sua mano"; cf. also Crozat, *Recueil d'Estampes,* Paris, 1720, I, pl. 1. We may add the following pictures derived more or less directly from Pontormo's original: a "Venus and Cupid" ascribed to Alessandro Allori,

sold in the Salc X, in London, in 1800, for 39,750 francs; a "Venus and Cupid," perhaps the same, withdrawn from the Fossart sale in 1838 at 10,000 francs and sold at the Joubert sale in 1841 for 2,000 francs; a "Venus and Cupid," ascribed to Alessandro Allori, sold by Francillon in 1828 (cf. Mireur, I, pp. 26 f.). See also the small "Venus and Cupid," ascribed to Bronzino, which is a free rehandling of the same composition (Uffizi 1173); the "Venus and Cupid," ascribed to Bronzino, Galleria Colonna, No. 9; the same subject treated twice by Vasari in the same gallery, Nos. 7 and 18, as well as No. 16 which is ascribed to Salviati. Vasari is known to have painted two, perhaps three, similar pictures from cartoons of Michelangelo's, one for Ottaviano de' Medici (VII, 669), another for Bindo Altoviti in 1544 (VII, 673). He took a "Venus" with him to Venice in 1542 and sold it there to Don Diego de Mendoza (VII, 669 f.; VIII, 283). For the possible third "Venus" by Vasari, see his letter of July 21, 1544, to Francesco Lioni in Venice (VIII, 291). I do not know whether any of these are Nos. 7 and 18 of the Galleria Colonna or still other panels the whereabouts of which is unknown to me. The composition of the "Venus" can be traced in a number of pictures too numerous to mention, an example of which is the "Death of Adonis," ascribed to Sebastiano del Piombo, in the Uffizi.

Reprod. Fig. 123; photo. Alinari; Braun 41284; Brogi 11033.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 277, 291-295 (long note by Milanesi on the present panel); VII, 277; Borghini, ed. 1730, p. 395; Varchi, *op. cit.*, p. 134; 278 f.; *Catalogue de la R. Galerie de Florence,* p. 154; *Gazette des beaux-arts,* XIII, 2e pér.; Thode, *Michelangelo, Krit. Unters.*, II, 324-331; Law, *The Royal Gallery of Hampton Court,* 1898, p. 110; *Catalogue de la Galerie Colonna,* Rome, p. 6; Brinton, *Renaissance,* 1908, p. 187 f.; B. F. D., I, 325; II, 138, 145; B. F. P. R., p. 175; *Dessins,* pp. 21, 33, 35, 72, 94, 95, 137, 169, 208, 232, 305, 331. See also above.

1578. MADONNA AND LITTLE ST. JOHN

The Madonna, seen to the knees, is seated three-quarters right, her head almost profile; her hair is auburn and wound in a thick coil around her head. On her right knee, slightly raised, sits the Christ Child also turned three-quarters right, his head slightly bent over towards the left is seen full face; his right arm is extended left, his left laid on the shoulder of St. John; his hair is blond; the Madonna's right hand rests on his breast. To the right, St. John turned three-quarters right, his hand raised to the Madonna whose cheek is laid against his forehead; his hair is brown; his right arm is bent round the Christ Child, his left hand laid on the Christ Child's left knee; the Madonna's left arm encircles St. John, her hand on his left elbow. The Virgin wears a green skirt, a scarlet bodice and overskirt; a yellowish grey scarf is passed round her right arm and across the body of the Infant; behind her, thrown over a chair, is a mantle of blue-green and red lined with a lighter green. The background is almost black.

Oil on wood. H. .86, w. .73.

This panel, which was left unfinished by Pontormo, remained until 1907 in the store-rooms of the Uffizi. It was

in a ruined state and only after an exhaustive restoration could it be hung in the Gallery. It still retains, however, quite evident traces of our master's hand. The composition was, it would seem, derived from or suggested by a lost drawing or picture of Da Vinci's. It belongs, therefore, to the group of Pontormo's Leonardesque pictures although it is later than the San Michele Visdomini altar-piece or the "Farinola Madonna." The little St. John owes much to Michelangelo's "tondo" of the "Holy Family," now in the Uffizi. The same figure should also be compared with the St. John in Pontormo's panel in Palazzo Corsini, Florence (No. 141).

Condition: completely repainted by Lucarini.

Date: 1526-1528.

Reprod. Photo. Perazzi; fig., article cited below.

Bibl. Gamba, *Quadri nuovamente esposti agli Uffizi, Bollettino d'arte,* I (1907), 20-22.

PORTRAIT OF THE YOUNG COSIMO I

Bust figure seen in profile to left; he wears a brown coat with white collar; his hair is brown and curly; the flesh-tints are freshly laid in; the background is a greenish grey.

Oil on a beechwood panel. H. .47, w. .31.

Not exhibited. This portrait, which is little more than a "frottis," was discovered by Conte Gamba. It is in all likelihood a sketch for the lost portrait mentioned by Vasari (VI, 282) as executed while Jacopo was at work at Castello. Cosimo, who was born in 1519, is represented as about eighteen years of age. The present panel would seem to date, then, from about 1537-1538 — precisely the years in which Jacopo began his work at Castello. Vasari used this sketch, or the finished portrait made from it, for his likeness of Cosimo in the following frescoes of the Sala di Cosimo I, in the Palazzo Vecchio: (1) allegorical subjects to left and right of "Cosimo in Elba" (photo. Alinari 4458); (2) "The Captives at Montemurlo" (Alinari 4463); (3) allegories to left and right of "Cosimo among His Architects and Engineers" (Alinari 4462); (4) allegories to left and right of "Cosimo Sending Succour to Serra-

valle" (Alinari 4460); (5) "Cosimo Elected Duke of Florence" and in the allegories to the left and right of the same. For a copy of another portrait of the first Grand Duke by Pontormo, see Catalogue of Attributed Pictures, Jarves Collection, No. 78 (100).

Condition: unfinished and damaged.

Date: 1538-1543.

Drawing: sketch, Uffizi 6528 verso (photo. Perazzi; fig., article cited below; D. G. U., pl. XXV).

Reprod. Photo. Perazzi; fig., article cited below.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 282; Borghini, ed. 1730, p. 396; Gamba, *Rivista d'arte,* 1910, pp. 125-127; *Dessins,* pp. 11, 35, 40, 74, 133.

PORTRAIT OF COSIMO IL VECCHIO

Seated; seen to the knees, the torse turned three-quarters left, the head profile left. He is clean shaven and wears a red cloak edged with fine brown fur and a cap of lighter red; his hands are clasped in his lap; the flesh-tints are pale and cadaverous. The chair is a warm brown, the background a dark greenish grey. A small laurel grows on the left side, the leaves of which are a brown-green. Wound round the stem of this tree is a narrow scroll bearing the inscription: VNO AVV|LSO · NO · DEFIC|IT ALITER;[1] behind the head and shoulders, on the back of the chair: COSM · MED|ICES · P · P · P ·

Oil on wood. H. .86, w. .65.

One of the great imaginative creations of Florentine portraiture; the modelling of the face and hands is exquisite. Here Cosimo has all the dignity of a noble and revered ancestor (cf. Bartolomeo Scala, *Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum,* VIII, 489). The prototype of this portrait was undoubtedly a medal, but it is difficult to say whether Pontormo worked from a medal of which an example survives or from a variant of which we do not possess a specimen. There are four known medals that represent Cosimo:

I. A medal with the inscription: COSMUS MEDICES DECRETO PUBLIC. P. P. Reverse: PAX. LIBERTASQUE. PUBLICA; a seated figure of a woman with the word, FLORENTIA.

II. A similar medal with PUBLICO instead of PUBLIC. (engrav. Litta, fasc. 22; Supino, *Il medagliere mediceo,* p. 22,

[1] Æneid, VI, 143.

No. 20; Fabriczy, *Medaillen d. italienischen Renaissance,* p. 55, fig. 87; *idem, Repertorium,* XXIV, 313; Armand, *Médailleurs italiens,* 2e éd., I, 10; Bode, *Florentiner Bildhauer,* p. 257). An example in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, the Bargello, and the Dreyfus Collection, Paris.

III. A small replica of No. II. Cf. J. Friedländer, *Italienischen Schaumünzen, Jahrb. d. k. preuss. Kunstsamml.,* II (1881), 239-241, pl. XXVII, No. 3; Trapesnikoff, *Die Porträtdarstellungen der Mediceer des XV Jahrhunderts,* pl. II, 3; Supino, p. 22; Armand, II, 23. Examples in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, and in the Bargello in gold, silver, and bronze. This is perhaps the gold medal mentioned in the Medicean inventories of the fifteenth century (Müntz, *Les coll. d. Médicis au XVe siècle,* p. 74).

IV. The same with MAGNUS. COSMUS. MEDICES. P. P. P. and the same reverse as the preceding. Cf. *Museum Mazz.,* I, xx, 4; *Trésor de numismatique: Méd. ital.,* I, xx, 1; Friedländer, pl. XXVII, No. 4; Müntz, *Précurseurs de la Renaissance,* p. 135; Supino, p. 22, No. 21; Heiss, *Médailleurs de la Renaissance,* II, 9; I, pl. i, 2; Armand, II, 23. An example in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum and in the Bargello where it is ascribed to Michelozzo.[1]

Goethe and Heinrich Meyer (*Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung,* 1810, Vol. I) ascribed No. I without reason to Donatello, No. II equally without reason, to Michelozzo. Supino and Armand ascribe No. III also to Michelozzo. Friedländer believes that all four were made for Lorenzo de' Medici by Nicolaus Florentinus whose real name was perhaps Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli (1430-1514). It was in all likelihood No. III that was reproduced, not long after it was struck, in three manuscripts that are now in the Laurenziana: 1. Aristotelis Logica, Ioanne Argyropylos interprete (Bandinius, *Catalogus Codicum latinorum,* III, 3; D'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina,* II, 394, No. 796) in which the effigy of Cosimo, profile right, appears in a medallion of a gold-coloured monochrome in the

[1] There is another medal dating from the end of the sixteenth century with the same obverse as No. IV; on the reverse, three interlaced rings and the word SEMPER.

middle of the right side of the title-page. On the same page, which has been reproduced by Müntz (*Les Précurseurs,* p. 158), there is a similar medallion of Piero. 2. Aristotelis Opera quaedam, Ioanne Argyropylos interprete (Bandinius, III, 225; D'Ancona, II, 395). This work is dedicated to Piero. The medallion of Cosimo represents him in a red mantle and red biretta. 3. IOHANNIS NESII, De moribus ad Petrum Laurentii f. Dialogi IV (Bandinius, III, 144; D'Ancona, II, 454 f.). In the initial "C" Cosimo is represented in profile in a violet vest and red cap. Medal No. III could not have been struck before March 16, 1465, the date of Cosimo's death, since the title "Pater Patriae" was a posthumous honour. The miniature of manuscript No. 3 must have been executed before 1469 in which year Piero died. We see, therefore, that the medals, the first three of which are practically of the same date, are themselves derived from an earlier representation of Cosimo that has since been lost. They are in turn the source of a number of portraits of Cosimo other than the three miniatures we have just mentioned. Medal No. IV itself dates, in the opinion of some critics, from the end of the fifteenth century and is derived from medal No. III. A fourth immediate derivative of these medals is the medallion in gilded bronze on the cover of a late fifteenth century manuscript, FR. TOMMASO SARDI, L'Anima pellegrina, poema in terza rima, Rome, Bibl. Corsini, Cod. 55. K. 1. A fifth derivative, and earlier than the last, is the medal in relief in "gesso" and gilt that one sees in Botticelli's "Portrait of a Man," now in the Uffizi (No. 1154). It is derived in all probability from medal No. I. Friedländer even goes so far as to believe that Botticelli's portrait, which is a work of his earliest period, represents Nicolaus Florentinus himself holding his medal of Cosimo. A sixth derivative is the late fifteenth century marble relief ascribed to Verrocchio, now in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (No. 104; Trapesnikoff, pl. III), which comes from the Orlandini Collection (Bode, *Italienische Porträtskulpturen des 15 Jahrhunderts,* p. 38; Bode und Tschudi, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke,* pl. VII). A seventh derivative is the sixteenth century terra-cotta relief in

the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo, Florence, where the face is turned to the right (Trapesnikoff, pl. IV, 1) and of which the poor and empty bust portrait of Cosimo ascribed to Bronzino in the Uffizi is an exact copy even to the colouring. This latter portrait miniature (photo. Alinari 459; Trapesnikoff, pl. IV, 2; Young, *The Medici,* pl. III) dates from about 1553 and is labelled COSMUS MEDICES P. P. P. It differs from Pontormo's portrait in structure and modelling as well as in many small details. An eighth derivative is the cameo, Uffizi No. 1083, which was copied from medal No. III. A ninth derivative is the porphyry relief by Francesco del Tadda (H. 19, w. 14 in.; Wood Brown, p. 113, fig., p. 39), mounted on an oval slab of green serpentine of Prato and bearing on the chamfer of the bust: OPA DI FRANC° DA FIESOLE, which was once in the Uffizi and is now in the magazine of the Bargello.

Pontormo's portrait is then by no means the first work of art derived from these medals. It is most closely related to medal No. III; and since Goro Gheri, for whom it was painted, was secretary to Lorenzino, it is not incouceivable that he obtained for Pontormo access to a fine cast of that medal, perhaps in precious metal, such as was undoubtedly preserved in the collections of the Medici. It should be noted, however, that our portrait differs from all surviving medals in the shape of the ear, the way in which the cap touches the same, the tilt of the head and the contour of the eye. These differences may have arisen, quite naturally, in idealizing and elaborating the features merely suggested in the prototype.

In Vasari's time our panel was in the house of Ottaviano de' Medici in the possession of his son Messer Alessandro. Later it was in the Uffizi, and in the eighteenth century it was removed to Cosimo's cell at San Marco where, in 1912, Alessandro Pieroni's modified copy (purplish brown cloak, red cap; h. 1.30, w. 1.10) was substituted and the original again placed in the Uffizi.

The present panel is the prototype of most of the later representations of Cosimo among which the following are known to me. (a) Vasari's full-length portrait of Cosimo, in

the Chapel of Leo X, in the Palazzo Vecchio. (b) The portraits of Cosimo in Vasari's frescoes in the Camera di Cosimo il Vecchio, Palazzo Vecchio: "Cosimo Going into Exile" (Alinari 4407); "Cosimo's Return from Exile," "Cosimo with Brunelleschi and Ghiberti" (Alinari 4413); "Cosimo with Santi Bentivogli Poppi"; "Cosimo with Philosophers and Artists." Cf. Vasari, "Ragionamenti"; Filippo Moise, *Illustrazione del Palazzo de' Priori,* Firenze, 1843; Giuseppe Conti, *Il palagio del Comune in Firenze,* 1905; Cosimo Conti, *La prima reggia di Cosimo I,* 1893, p. 140. (c) Altissimo's bust portrait (profile left in red cap and mantle) in the corridor between the Pitti and the Uffizi. (d) Paggi's(?) portrait in the same corridor (modifications in the chair and length, inscription omitted). (e) The portraits used as decorative motives in the ceiling of the Long Gallery of the Uffizi by Cosimo Ulivelli, Angiolo Gori, Jacopo Chiavistelli, Bernardino Pocetti and others. (f) The portrait in the possession of the Società Colombaria, Florence. (g) The portrait in the collection of the Erzherzog Ferdinand von Tirol, Hofmuseum, Vienna, which belonged to a gallery of portraits of famous men similar to that collected by Paolo Giovio at Como (Kenner, *Die Porträtsammlung des Erzherzogs Ferdinand v. Tirol, Jahrb. kunsthist. Samml. d. Allerh. Kaiserhauses,* Vienna, XVIII (1897), 145. (h) The late sixteenth century copy bearing the inscription COSIMO · MEDICI · P · P ·, now in the Thaw Collection, New York. (i) The miniature once in the Colworth Collection (No. 41) and sold at Christie's in 1892. (j) Allegrini's engraving in *Regiae familiae,* which is a modified form of Pontormo's portrait with the inscription: "Cosmus cognomento Pater Patriae Joannis Medic. et Piccardae Bueriae F. Ex Coenobio Divi Marci Florentinae." (k) The poor engraving in Allegrini's *Serie di Ritratti di uomini illustri,* Florence, 1768-1770, III, tav. 52, which bears the inscription: "Preso da un Quadro in tavola esistente nella Spezeria del Convento di S. Marco di Firen^{e}. Tommaso Gentili del. F. Allegrini inci. 1769." (l) The poor woodcut (bust figure) in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia Virorum bellica virtute illustrium,* Basel, 1575, p. 131 (Cf. Müntz, *Le*

Musée de Portraits de Paul Jove, Paris, 1900, *Mémoires de l'Institut de France,* XXXVI, Paris, 1901). (m) The modified engraving by Antonio Perfetti 1819 (drawing by Pietro Ernimi) printed in Florence by Luigi Bardi e Compagno, *Galleria di Firenze,* II, pl. XLVIII. (n) The engraving in Rosini's *Pittura italiana,* V, 77. (o) The line-engraving (bust figure) in Inghirami's *Storia della Toscana,* XVII, tav. CIII, No. 4, as well as a number of later engravings. To this list may be added, although only on conjecture, the portrait mentioned in the Guardaroba of the Palazzo Vecchio, in the Inventory of 1553 (C. Conti, *La prima reggia,* p. 138 f). For engravings of other portraits of Cosimo, see Vinc. Follini, *Iconografia universale,* Florence, XI, 3.

Condition: excellent; there are a few worm-holes in the panel which has split somewhat along the right side; a small piece has been added at the top; the old varnish has been removed recently by skilful restoration.

Date: 1518-1519.

Reprod. Fig. 42. See above. A poor engraving by Borde in Litta, fasc. 22; photo. Brogi 14817; Alinari; Anderson; Trapesnikoff, pl. IX; University Prints, No. 99, series C.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 264; Molini, *Galleria di Firenze,* Vol. II, S. I, p. 5; Cruttwell, *Florentine Churches,* p. 168; B. F. P. R., p. 175; *Catalogue de la R. Galerie de Florence,* Florence, 1864, p. 150; Waetzoldt, *Die Kunst des Porträts,* Leipzig, 1908, p. 65. See also above.

FRANKFORT

Städel Institute

14A. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN WITH A DOG

She is seated in a Savonarola chair, and turned three-quarters left, the head almost full face; she looks at the spectator. Her hair is brown, neatly parted, a thick roll of it held in an ornamental net that encircles her head; eyebrows finely pencilled; eyes brown, the right smaller than the left; nostrils wide; ears high and pointed; chin full; neck column-like. She wears a scarlet cloth dress cut square at the neck, large puffs at the shoulders, dark green velvet sleeves, full white chemisette with high embroidered collar made of two pieces, small frills at the wrists. In her hair, a gold circle with a filigree star in the centre; around her neck a gold chain of heavy ornamental links; around her waist a narrow black and gold woven band; on the upper joint of the ring finger of the right hand, a high diamond ring; on the little finger of

the left hand, a ruby ring; around her right wrist and lying across her lap, a dark bead chaplet ending in a large tassel enclosed in gold filigree; in the bend of her right arm, a little brown and white dog sits facing the spectator. The chair on which she sits is seen in profile and is ornamented with a bronze mask, a handle, two large nails and a green fringe. The background forming a shallow niche is dark grey on the left, light grey on the right; flat pilasters on either side; behind the sitter, a low table on which two books bound in parchment with dark ribbon-fastenings.

Oil on poplar wood. H. .89, w. .70.

From the Riccardi, Fesch, Le Brun and Mailand Collections; bought in 1882 (Frankfürter Kunstverein). Once thought to be a lady of the family of the dukes of Urbino. On the back of the panel, in pencil, an illegible inscription: "Anton . . . rato| . . . o," and a round branded seal on which the following letters: DO OGA| LOGDI| TOME(?) which Weizsäcker reads: MA| LOD.III| IM . . . Ascribed to Bronzino by the author of the Mailand Catalogue who compares it with a "Portrait of the Duke of Urbino," once in the Pourtalès Collection (No. 114), which he also considers to be a Bronzino, but which was anciently attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo and, by the author of the Pourtalès Catalogue, to Andrea del Sarto. The attribution of the present panel to Bronzino was retained in the earlier Frankfort catalogues and by various critics. The portrait was first correctly attributed to Pontormo by Berenson who is followed by Waetzoldt and the latest catalogue of the gallery. This is one of the most charming and characteristic portraits that our master has left us. It is dignified and gracious, of a large simplicity and penetrating intellectuality. The pose and spacing were perhaps suggested by a lost drawing of Michelangelo's; cf. the sheet in the British Museum (Frey, 184).

Condition: excellent; slightly retouched and judiciously varnished.

Date: 1534-1545.

Drawings: Uffizi 414 and 17769 bear a superficial resemblance to this portrait with which, however, they have no connection.

Reprod. Fig. 127; poor engraving by Monziès, Mailand Catalogue, facing page 14; photo. Bruckmann; Braun.

Bibl. *Catalogue de tableaux anciens composant la collection de feu M. Mailand,* Salle Drouot, May, 1881, p. 14, No. 16; Weizsäcker, *Catalog der*

Gemälde-galerie des Städelschen Kunstinstituts in Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurt, 1900, pp. 53 f.; *Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Verzeichnis der Gemälde,* Frankfurt, 1910, p. 5; *idem,* ed. 1914, *ibid.;* Waetzoldt, *Die Kunst des Porträts,* Leipzig, 1908, p. 219; B. F. D., I, 323; II, 154; B. F. P. R., p. 176; Schulze, *Bronzino,* p. lxi; *Dessins,* pp. 89, 288.

GENOA

Palazzo Bianco

6. PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH

Seen to just below the waist, turned three-quarters left. He has brown eyes that look left; longish brown hair. He is beardless and wears a pink doublet, finished at the throat with a small white frill, at the wrists with large cuffs turned back and lined with fur; a silk mantle of brighter pink than the doublet is thrown in rich folds over the left shoulder; at the waist, a cord in the form of a belt from which a black velvet bag with a dark silver mount hangs open showing an embroidered handkerchief. The left hand rests on the hip, the two middle fingers touching; in the right hand, a pair of gloves; on the head, a small round scarlet cap. Background, green-black.

Oil on wood. H. .86, w. .63.

Formerly No. 24; left to the gallery in the Galliera bequest; ulterior provenance unknown; not mentioned by Vasari. The right eye slightly smaller than the left is characteristic of Pontormo's draughtsmanship; cf. among others the Frankfort "Portrait of a Young Woman," the portrait-drawing of a girl, in Chantilly, the "Portrait of a Woman," in Turin, the "Portrait of a Girl," in the Widener Collection. The hands in the present portrait recall those of the ruined "Portrait of a Magistrate" (Borghese, No. 74); the drapery is close to that of the man kneeling in the foreground of Andrea's "Assumption" (Pitti, No. 191) and that of the man to the extreme left of Andrea's panel of the "Life of Joseph" (Pitti, No. 87); the pink shot with yellow of the mantle is not unlike that of the dress of the Magdalen in Andrea's "Disputa" (Pitti, No. 172), the drapery of the two saints in the foreground of Andrea's "Assumption" (Pitti, No. 191) and the robes of certain figures in Andrea's "Deposition" (Pitti, No. 58). The same colour was also used by Rosso for the drapery of the saint

in the foreground of his "Madonna and Saints" (Pitti, No. 237).

Condition: excellent; cracked slightly by the warping of the boards.
Date: 1516-1521.
Reprod. Fig. 41; photo. Brogi 11502; F. M. C.
Bibl. Jacobsen, *Le Gallerie Brignole-Sale-Defferrari in Genova, Archivio storico dell' arte,* II (1896), p. 120; *Catalogo di Palazzo Bianco e Rosso,* Genova, 1909, p. 34; *idem,* 2d ed., p. 59; *idem,* Orlando Grosso, Milan, p. 47; Suida, *Genua,* 1906, p. 142; B. F. P. R., p. 176.

KEIR, DUNBLANE, SCOTLAND

Stirling Collection

PORTRAIT OF BARTOLOMEO COMPAGNI

Half-length; seated, three-quarters left, in an arm chair before a table; the head turned a little less than three-quarters left; the eyes look at the spectator. The right hand, lightly holding a quill-pen, rests on the table, the left upon his left thigh; on the third finger, a jewelled ring. He wears a long beard and moustache and is dressed in a dark coat with large sleeves and embroidered collar; at his wrists, embroidered white frills; on his head, a black cap; in his lap, a handkerchief. The arm of the chair ends in a winged cupid's head; on the table are: seal-ring, sealing-wax, paper-cutter, open quill-case, ink-pot and two folded letters, the seal of the uppermost of which is broken; on it one reads: Al Magroapo bartolomeo Compagni . . . o Honerarius| In Firenze; beside these lie sheets of paper on which he has just written: Iac meo os . . . mo| Per lamore uoleua . . . [ho meso quanto quella . . .| comanda ei sono . . . The background is a flat niche, on the left, a pilaster, on the right, an engaged column on the base of which: 49 ATAT; at the base of the pilaster, a shelf on which lie official seals, a packet of papers, a document with a large seal of a bust seen in profile left; to this seal two ribbons are affixed.

Oil.
Condition: excellent.
Date: 1534-1545.

Provenance unknown; bought in Italy, sometime before 1825, by Charles Stirling in whose catalogue of 1826 it appears as "Portrait of a Consul." The person addressed as Jacopo in the letter that the sitter is engaged in writing is evidently Pontormo himself.

Reprod. Fig. 126; photo. for Capt. Archibald Stirling.
Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 177.

LONDON

Mond Collection

A CONVERSATION

To the left, a man, dressed in a crimson robe, scarlet leggings, buff shoes and pale sea-green mantle and cap, seated profile right; to the right another man, similarly dressed in a robe of grass-green with a mantle of pale rose and a scarlet cap, seated in an arm-chair profile left, his left hand on the arm of the chair, his right raised; behind, two figures facing of which one sees little more than the heads. The figure to the right is dressed in olive-green; the figure to the left, in orange-crimson. The man in the middle background is dressed in dark grey. The woodwork is orange-brown, the foreground, warm yellow-brown, the background, which is made up of the intersection of a groined roof and a wall, is grey.

Oil on canvas. H. .35, w. .24.

Provenance unknown; discovered and attributed to Pontormo by Costa. The stout, thick-set figures should be compared with the same type of figure in the Pitti "Adoration of the Magi." The colour and the touch recall the Uffizi "Birth-plate," which is of the same date.

Condition: slightly damaged.

Date: 1516-1521.

Reprod. A replica in the Methuen Collection; J. P. Richter, *Catalogue of the Mond Collection*, London, 1910, II, pl. 19.

Bibl. Catalogue cited above, II, 449; B. F. P. R., p. 176.

National Gallery

1131. JOSEPH IN EGYPT

The composition is complicated. To the left, a palace at the door of which Pharaoh appears surrounded by his attendants. In the foreground left, a flight of eight steps with two landings on which Joseph and his people in attitudes of supplication. To the right, seated on a triumphal car drawn by naked children, Joseph is again represented stooping toward a man who kneels beside the car and presents a petition. Farther to the right, part of a circular edifice up the front of which runs a bracketed stair. Toward the top of this staircase Joseph again appears leading one of his sons. Another child is received by his mother on the landing above. The upper part of the circular building is open disclosing a hall or porch in which Joseph is represented at the bedside of his dying father to whom he presents the children,

Ephraim and Manasseh. In the second plane, at the middle of the picture, a dense group of figures; behind these, a smaller group around a little mound; in the background, trees and two gable-roofed houses. There are three statues on high pedestals in the picture. They represent Mars, Venus, and Cupid.

The colour-composition is somewhat as follows: Foreground, beginning on the extreme right; man kneeling, light violet breeches, yellow jerkin, white sleeves; blond boy standing with back turned and legs wide apart, red legs, violet skirt, yellow jerkin; boy (Bronzino) seated on steps, dark brown cloak; three "putti," white drapery with violet lights; old man kneeling, light blue; man to the extreme left, darker blue of the same tone with dark brown drapery about the waist, dark red cap in hand. Second plane, beginning on the extreme left; man, bright red; old man in front of latter, light yellow-brown, white sleeves and turban; old man whose head and shoulders show between the last two figures, light blue; young man who faces the old man with turban, dark violet-brown mantle, yellow tunic; old woman with clasped hands, deep pink, white scarf and head-dress. In the little group in the second plane at the middle of the picture, reds and light violets predominate. The figure seated on the base of the column to the right, violet drapery, yellow jerkin, red cap; man on lowest step of stairs to the right, red robe and cap; second figure mounting the stairs leading a child, violet cloak, dull red stockings, red turban; child, light green dress; woman at top of stairs, red; child who advances to meet her, green; woman half-hidden by column, red. In the group on the platform of the circular building the same tones are distributed. The group in third plane at the middle of picture: pale green, violet and white. The figures in the background are red or red and white. The landscape, light brown; the architecture, pale lavender-grey; the pillar and pedestal in the foreground right, pale brown. Marked in lower left corner: JACOMO DAPONTORMO — inscription which probably dates from the last half of the sixteenth century. On the scroll held by the man kneeling in lower right corner, a legend which I have not been able to read in its entirety: . . . ci dj fiso sej i ispeto . . . nel . . . nella da una . . .

Oil on canvas. H. .44, w. .49.

This picture, on which Vasari lavishes the highest praise, was painted for the famous room, in Casa Borgherini in Borgo SS. Apostoli, presented to Pierfrancesco Borgherini by his father on the occasion of the former's marriage to Margherita, daughter of Roberto Acciaiuoli. It was originally placed in a corner to the left of the entrance and formed part of a general scheme of decoration which involved other pictures and "cassoni" by Pontormo, Andrea, Franciabigio, Bacchiacca and Granacci (Vasari, V, 342 f.). The house afterwards passed into the hands of the Rosselli (once Del Turco) family (Baldinucci, IV, 209; Vasari, IV, 531, n.). Milanesi states that the pictures painted by Jacopo for Borgherini were sold in 1584 to the Grand Duke Francesco by Niccolò di Giovanni Borgherini

for ninety ducats (Archivio di Stato, Depositeria Generale, Recapiti di cassa, filza 995). He identifies, however, the pictures in question with two panels, now in the Uffizi, which were long ascribed to Pontormo but are really by Granacci. Our picture was once in the possession of Giovan Gherardo de' Rossi, was exhibited at the Royal Academy (No. 194) in 1873 and was bought by the National Gallery at the Duke of Hamilton's sale at Christie's, June, 1882, as an "Allegory" for £315 out of the interest of the "Clarke Bequest." The little boy seated on the steps in the foreground is Bronzino (Vasari, VI, 261). Even at an early date the iconographic explanation of this picture seems to have become confused. Vasari himself mistook the group to the left for Joseph receiving Jacob and his brethren. It was Richter who first correctly interpreted the subject; cf. Genesis, xlvii, 1-6, 13-26; xlviii, 1-14. The meaning of the group of men huddled in the middle distance is found in the verse: "Wherefore shall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land?" Buildings in classic style were generally considered in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to be characteristic of Egypt from which country the art of Greece was supposed to be derived (Richter, 39 f.). The statues that adorn the buildings furnish further proof that the scene is meant for Egypt, in as much as legends current in the Middle Ages (Tischendorf, *Evang. Pseudo-Matth., Chaps.* XXII, XXIII) had induced artists to use them as a symbol of that country. Richter believed that the portrait of the young Bronzino made him appear to be about ten years of age. He therefore placed this canvas in 1512, at the very beginning of Pontormo's career — at least six years too early. His error is repeated by Jacobsen who also considered the signature to be genuine. Schubring seems to continue Vasari's mistaken explanation of the subject and he identifies the picture with a "lettuccio" representing "Giuseppe che serve Faraone" which, however, Vasari distinctly states was painted for Borgherini by Granacci. Schubring turns this difficulty with ease by remarking that Vasari frequently confuses these two painters. We might notice in passing that two panels by

Bacchiacca representing the "Life of Joseph," and painted for Borgherini, are in the National Gallery (Nos. 1218 and 1219). For the other pictures executed by Pontormo for Borgherini, see under Panshanger.

Condition: excellent.

Date: 1518-1519.

Drawing: Berenson thinks that Uffizi 6537 is a study for the drapery of the right arm of the figure to the extreme left. I do not feel that the identification is convincing. In the Louvre there is a poor pen and ink drawing (No. 1725), ascribed to Andrea but really dating from about 1575, which is a copy by an unknown hand of the present composition.

Document: see above.

Reprod. Photo. Hanfstaengl, National Gallery, 220; fig., Poynter, *National Gallery,* II, 99; fig., Vasari, trans. de Vere, VII, 158.

Bibl. Vasari, V, 26, 343; VI, 261, 455; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 393; Richter, *Art of the National Gallery,* pp. 36 f.; *Catalogue of the Collection of the Duke of Hamilton,* London, 1882, p. 101; *Hamilton Palace Collection, Illustrated Priced Catalogue,* London, 1882, pp. 52, 100; Poynter, *op. cit.,* II, 98; Cook, *Handbook,* I, 32; *Descriptive Catalogue of the National Gallery,* 1906, p. 457; *idem,* 81st ed., 1913, pp. 554 f.; Graves, *Loan Exhibitions,* II, 942; *Art Sales,* 1888, II; Müntz, *Renaissance,* Paris, 1895, III, 499; Jacobsen, *Italienische Gemälde in der National-galerie zu London, Repertorium,* XXIV (1901), p. 365; Frizzoni, *Arte italiana del rinascimento,* 1891, pp. 255 f.; B. F. D., II, 142; B. F. P. R., p. 176; *Dessins,* 34, 68, 139, 331.

LUCCA

Pinacoteca

75. PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH

Half-length; full face; the head turned slightly right. He stands beside a greyish table placed to the left on which his right hand rests, his left hand on his hip. He is beardless and has bushy auburn hair and brown eyes. He wears a dark green coat with sleeves of the same colour over which is thrown an ample light red mantle; at his neck a white shirt and collar show; his hat is a dark bluish green; the background, dark green.

Oil on wood. H. .85, w. .61.

Provenance unknown; once at Poggio Imperiale; now the property of the Istituto di Belle Arti. Erroneously believed to be a portrait of Giuliano de' Medici. On the back of the panel one reads: "Dalla guardaroba gen^{le} 2485."

Condition: excellent.

Date: 1529-1530.

Drawing: Berenson thinks that Uffizi 452 (fig. 38) is probably a study for this portrait, but the drawing seems to me to date from ten years earlier.

Reprod. Fig. 115; photo. Alinari 8459.

Bibl. Trapesnikoff, *Die Porträtdarstellungen der Mediceer,* Strassburg, 1909, p. 77; B. F. D., I, 324; II, 138; B. F. P. R., p. 176.

MILAN

Collection of Prince Trivulzio

PORTRAIT OF A BOY WITH A BOOK

Three-quarter length. He stands turned three-quarters left leaning against a narrow low wooden shelf; his eyes look at the spectator. He has dark curly hair, dark wide-set eyes, broad flat nose, thin eyebrows. His left hand rests on the edge of the shelf, his right holds against his hip a large open book. He wears a black cap and a dark costume of stuff with a knotted surface; the sleeves have large puffs at the shoulders; the lower sleeve is very long and of dark velvet; the front of the jacket is fastened with laces the ends of which are encased in metal tips; about the waist, a tight, narrow belt tied with a bow in front; about the hips a broad, black, buckled sword-belt which hangs lower on his left side. Light background.

Oil on wood.

A fine example of Pontormo's work in portraiture during the first part of the decade of the twenties, which I regret to say that I know only from a photograph, in spite of a written application for permission to see the original and a special journey made to Milan for that purpose.

On the book I have made out in a fragmentary manner the following verses:

Famosi Frondi de' Cra . . . santi
Per non so qual del Ciel fero Pia . . .
Rado hoggi s'orna Cesare o Poeta
Merce del guasto Mondo & pien derrori
Chi sara mai . . . segnamente honesi
Il od . . . che in Voi si dolcemente aqueta
I vianj & le tempeste 'e 'n . . . lieta
Ogni anima gentil del Volgo fuori?

Et chi sia poi . . . degnamente ancora
Adorar possa & quanto si conuiene
Lalta vertu ch' e nel bel nostro inuolta
Io da che prima nasce l'Aurore
Fin che di naduo al' oriente uiene,
V' adoro e 'inchino humil solo Vna uolta.

Ed . . .
Ama gentil dal faute cag . . .
O sol gis a honestate in . . .
Torre in alto . . . fo og . . . .
O fiamma . . . . . mai
Ti ama neve . . . . io mi
Opiacer onde l'ali al bel uer ergo
Che luce soura quanti il sol ne . . .
Del vostro nome se mie rime
Fassin si si l . . . ge haurei pien Io
La sana . . . tiade . . . poc . . .
Per che portar nel posto . . .
Parti del mondo . . . .
Ch . . . pennin . . . e'l . . . cerco.

Date: 1521-1522.
Reprod. Fig. 48; photo. Anderson 12840.

OLDENBURG

Augusteum

19. PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Three-quarter length. She is seated, almost facing, in an arm chair of reddish wood, her hazel eyes looking straight at the spectator; her auburn hair is enclosed in a net. She wears a green velvet dress cut low at the neck, the sleeves tied to the bodice with little bows the ends of which are encased in gold work; a décolletée chemisette of embroidered white linen with an open turned down collar; white ruffles at the wrists. In her hair, a circlet of chased beads of gold, a pearl necklace at her throat, a gold chain hanging from her shoulders; around her waist, a heavy gold chain ending in a tassel which she holds with the first and little fingers of her left hand; on the third finger of the same hand, a ring with a green stone. Her right elbow rests on a light reddish yellow octagonal table ornamented with black arabesques; the fingers of her right hand keep her place in a small book which lies on the table; it is bound in red leather, tooled in gold with two red ribbons instead of clasps. Background, a brown curtain with green fringe; a fold of the

same, seen in shadow, is draped across the upper right-hand corner of the picture.

Oil on wood. Oval; h. 1.12, w. .83.

Acquired through Mündel from the Blaesel Collection in Paris in 1870. Once ascribed to Bronzino and erroneously held to be a portrait of a member of the Medici family. The identity of the sitter and the ulterior provenance are unknown.

Condition: heavily varnished; the boards, which are three centimetres thick, are badly warped; between them are vertical cracks.

Date: 1535-1545.

Reprod. Fig. 129; photo. Oncken; Bredius und Schmidt-Degener, *Die Grossherzogliche Gemälde-galerie im Augusteum zu Oldenburg*, Oldenburg, 1906, pl. VIII.

Bibl. Catalogue cited above, p. 8; *Kurzes Verzeichnis*, p. 3; B. F. P. R., p. 176.

PANSHANGER

Collection of Lady Desborough

32. JOSEPH DISCOVERING HIMSELF TO HIS BRETHREN

Composition of more than twenty-five figures. To the left, a dais on which Joseph sits; his brethren kneel before him. To the right, a raised circular space enclosed with a marble balustrade; in the centre of the space, a square pedestal on which a seated statue. The background, trees and rolling hills.

The colour-scheme is somewhat as follows: figure standing to the extreme left, dark yellowish pink; blond figure behind the latter, darkest red; figure on the left kneeling profile right, red shirt, light blue sleeves, purplish yellow skirt; figure on dais (Joseph), dark reddish pink, grey sleeves, blue skirt. In the group before Joseph, beginning with figure farthest back and farthest to the left: dark blue and red; figure to the latter's right, white sleeves, dark yellow mantle; blond figure bowed low in front of last mentioned figure, blue mantle; figure kneeling nearly profile left with hands crossed on breast, white sleeves, sage-green skirt; two little figures farther back seen over the latter's shoulders, dark yellow and dark red; blond figure in foreground seen three-quarters from behind, blue shirt, white sleeves, reddish pink mantle; old man behind him, green tunic, purplish red mantle; bowed figure with hands covering his eyes, yellow mantle, greyish purple tunic; blond youth seen just above the latter and standing profile left, purplish mantle, white sleeves; three men to the right of the latter figure, yellow and white, purplish grey and dark pink; figure next to right in background, dark pink;

statue, grey-green; figure with sack seated on the steps, yellow, pink tunic; sack, white-yellow; blond figure descending steps with a sack on shoulder, grey-white tunic; boy walking left in front of steps, light blue; figure seated on the parapet above him and seen from behind, dark green, pinkish red, light red cap; figure next to right, dark pinkish red; figure with an ass beside him, dark yellowish pink; the banner, grey. The foreground is dark yellowish brown, the stone grey-green and yellowish purple, the landscape and sky, dark grey-green and blue-green. On the dais: ECCE| SALUS| MŪD; on the pedestal to the right: VNITIO| RI...TI TI; on the banner: ECCE| SALVATOR| MUNDI.

Oil on wood. H. .35, w. .42.

Exhibited (No. 163) in Manchester in 1857. Ascribed to Andrea by most critics including Crowe and Cavalcaselle and their editors. They remark that "nothing can be more animated than this composition, more energetic and lively than the attitudes, more perfect and airy than the colour. It is the quick and able production of a pencil in full consciousness of its strength." It is, however, an authentic Pontormo for which I have had the good fortune to discover two drawings. Like the two following pictures of this collection it is a "cassone" panel and formed part of the decoration of Pierfrancesco Borgherini's bridal chamber in his house in Borgo SS. Apostoli, although one cannot say whether it was originally the front of a coffer or an ornament of the bed or of the wainscoting of the walls. Pierfrancesco's marriage took place in 1515 but Pontormo's pictures cannot have been finished before 1517. During the siege of Florence, while Borgherini was in Lucca, Giovambattista della Palla, wishing to get possession of the furnishings of the room in question in order to sell them to the King of France, obtained permission from the Signoria to acquire them but was prevented from so doing by the energetic defence that Borgherini's wife made of her most cherished possessions. The note of Milanesi (V, 26) to the effect that in 1584 Niccolò di Giovanni Borgherini sold the Pontormo panels to the Grand Duke Francesco for ninety ducats may very well refer to this and the following two pictures as well as to the "Joseph in Egypt" of the National Gallery, although Milanesi erroneously supposed that his document referred to the panels of the "Life of Joseph," in the Uffizi, which he

believed to be by Pontormo but which are really by Granacci. See "Joseph in Egypt," under National Gallery, London.

Condition: good, although darkened with old varnish.

Date: 1517-1518.

Drawings: for the figure kneeling to the extreme left, a study from the nude, Uffizi 6542 verso (fig. 28; photo. F. M. C.); for the figure descending the steps to the right, Uffizi 6692 (fig. 25; photo. F. M. C.).

Document: Archivio di Stato, Depositeria Generale: Recapiti di cassa, filza 995.

Reprod. Fig. 26.

Bibl. Vasari, V, 26, 343; VI, 261, 455; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 393; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Dent, III, 513; ed. Murray, VI, 202; Graves, *Century of Loan Exhibitions,* III, 1197; *Exhibition of Old Masters, Grafton Galleries,* 1911, p. 50; Fry and Broekwell, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Old Masters,* 1911, p. 36; Phillips, *Art Journal,* 1906, p. 1; *Dessins,* 34, 39, 67, 142, 329.

33. THE BAKER LED OUT TO EXECUTION

Composition of fifteen figures. In the background, the wall of a house with, to the left, a statue at the foot of a flight of steps leading up to a room on the right.

The colour-composition is somewhat as follows: in the foreground left, three figures about a table; of these the figure kneeling with his back turned wears a light blue mantle, yellow stockings and cap, in his left hand, a large reddish purse; the woman facing him, who raises a saucer to her lips, has a dark green sleeve, white head-dress and scarf; the old man seated profile left wears a light blue turban, yellowish pink mantle and reddish pink drapery. The table-cloth is grey-white, the column and statue, purplish grey. In the group, second plane to right: blond figure to extreme right, bluish white sleeves and shirt, pinkish stockings; the baker, faded pink shirt, greyish white sleeves and stockings; the tall prominent figure behind the latter, yellow shirt, yellowish stockings with pinkish lights in them. In the group on the steps: the first figure to the left (kneeling), light pink mantle, white sleeves and waist-band, yellowish white vest, pink stockings; the figure that seizes the latter, green sleeves; the lower of the two figures descending the steps, dark violet mantle, greyish white legs; uppermost figure on the steps is blond and wears yellowish white shirt and pinkish tights. Figures in the door of the room above: figure on the left, blue vest and red legs; figure lying down, dark greyish pink; figure to the right, reddish yellow shirt, reddish stockings. The walls are grey-green, the stairs a lighter tone of the same colour, the pilasters, purplish grey, the ground, grey-green.

Oil on wood. H. .58, w. .50.

Exhibited (No. 221) at Burlington House in 1881; a second time with the following; a third time with the following at the Grafton Galleries (Nos. 33 and 35) in 1911. Originally

ascribed to Andrea; by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (III, 585), followed by Hutton, Phillips, Berenson and others, correctly to Pontormo. Waagen thought that the subject was perhaps "Saint Roch Distributing Alms," but the episode that the picture really illustrates is to be found in Genesis, xxxvii, 36. Phillips considers this and the following panel to be in "a style of portentous exaggeration... an energetic, arrogant, self-conscious manner," and adds that "they are identical in style with 'Joseph in Egypt' of the National Gallery and may well belong to the same series." It is, of course, perfectly clear that, like No. 32 of this collection, they are "cassone" decorations and were painted at the same time as the National Gallery picture for Pierfrancesco Borgherini. See the preceding and the following and under London, National Gallery.

Condition: excellent.

Date: 1517-1518.

Drawing: for one of the figures descending the stairs, a study from the nude, Uffizi 6690 (fig. 29; photo. Houghton).

Reprod. Fig. 27.

Bibl. Vasari, V, 343; VI, 261; Waagen, *Treasures of Art,* 1854, III, 12; Graves, *op. cit.,* II, 942; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1864-1866, III, 585; Fry and Brockwell, catalogue cited, p. 36; Phillips, *Daily Telegraph,* October 18, 1911; B. F. P. R., p. 176; *Dessins,* 34, 39, 67, 237, 256.

35. JOSEPH SOLD TO POTIPHAR

Composition of twenty-eight figures. The scene takes place before a palace with high arched vestibule, the entrance of which has columns on either side; in front of this entrance, a terrace on which, to the right, a statue of "Charity."

The colour-composition is somewhat as follows: youth on horseback to left, pinkish red robe and cap; man behind him on horseback, red shirt, blue mantle, grey-blue cap; youth in foreground left, with his back turned, blond hair, light yellow jacket, pink stockings; figure beside him bending down, yellow shirt, violet stockings; man behind the latter figure, red shirt, blue mantle, grey-blue cap; boy in foreground profile right, yellow-grey tunic; youth whose head and shoulders show above the latter, yellowish orange tunic; figure in second plane behind the latter, dark violet tunic; old man in foreground right, facing left, yellow shirt, pinkish mantle, white head-dress; child to his right, pinkish red drapery; figure above the latter, blue, with violet-grey cap. In the background: figure to extreme left, dark violet; figure seen through the left window, red and brown; two figures on horseback, palest blue and violet-brown; figure in the portal, violet-brown; old man walking to right, pale blue tunic, light violet cap; man descending

steps, green; statue, grey-white; old man descending steps in front of statue, pinkish red vest, green drapery, violet stoekings; boy walking away to right behind the parapet, yellow-grey eloak. The foreground and baekground, grey-green with here and there purplish lights.

Oil on wood. H. .58, w. .50.

See the preceding.

Condition: exeellent.

Date: 1517-1518.

Drawings: sketeh of the lower part of the figure deseending the upper stairs to the right, Uffizi 6556 (fig. 31; photo. F. M. C.); study for the youth who walks away to the right on the marble terraee to the right, Uffizi 6692 verso (fig. 32; photo. F. M. C.).

Reprod. Fig. 30.

Bibl. See preceding and *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Old Masters, Grafton Galleries,* p. 38 f.; *Dessins,* 34, 39, 67, 83, 239, 256.

"IL FATTORE DI SAN MARCO"

Three-quarter length, standing; nearly life-size; the torse turned three-quarters left; the head nearly full faee and inelined slightly to the left; the eyes look at the spectator. He wears a large black hat and a green-blaek robe, with large sleeves, open at the front showing a pinkish red lining and a white shirt; the right arm is bent, the hand thrust into the opening of the mantle; the left arm extended at side, the thumb thrust in a low belt. Background, grey-green with a shadow to the right.

Oil on wood. H. .94, w. .71.

Ascribed to Andrea — ascription confirmed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle who found it "masterly and bold in handling." Gamba, who erroneously gives the title as "Pastore di San Marco," believes it to be a Puligo, although it is quite obviously a rather early and striking Pontormo. Exhibited at Burlington House (No. 153) in 1881 as an Andrea, and at the Grafton Galleries (No. 64) in 1909-1910. There is an old replica in the Palazzo Ricasoli in Florence.

Condition: excellent.

Date: 1525-1530.

Reprod. Photo. Braun 37398; fig., article by Gamba cited below.

Bibl. Waagen, *Treasures of Art,* 1854, III, 11; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1864-1866, III, 585; *idem,* ed. Dent, III, 513; *idem,* ed. Murray, VI, 201; *Catalogue of the National Loan Exhibition,* London, 1910, p. 96; *Catalogue of the National Loan Exhibition,* Ballantyne & Co., p. 64; Gamba, *Di alcuni ritratti di Puligo, Rivista d'arte,* VI (1909), 280; B. F. P. R., p. 176.

PARIS

Jacquemart-André Collection

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Half-length; turned three-quarters left; she looks at spectator. In her left hand, a book which lies on a table to the left, her second finger between the leaves; her right hand half closed, the index finger pointing towards the spectator. She wears a dark dress; over her head and shoulders, a double white veil. On the violet-brown table, a handkerchief; to the extreme left one sees the head and forepaws of a little brown and white dog. Dark olive-green background.

Oil on wood prepared with a layer of "gesso."

Provenance unknown; acquired as a Bronzino; now correctly ascribed to Pontormo of whose later work it is an excellent specimen.

Condition: slightly damaged but practically unrestored; cracked on the right side and along the top; along the left side the paint has peeled for a distance of about two centimetres.

Date: 1540-1550.

Reprod. Fig. 151; photo. Bulloz.

Louvre

1240. HOLY FAMILY

In the centre, the Virgin seated, three-quarters to right, her head three-quarters left, in the lap of St. Anne who is seen full face. The Madonna holds against her right shoulder the Infant Jesus who stands full face on her knee. His head is turned three-quarters right; he looks at the Madonna. Under this central group, clouds. On either side, standing figures: to the left and above, St. Sebastian, his head profile right, his neck pierced by an arrow; he holds a palm; below in the foreground, St. Peter, three-quarters right, holding in his right hand the keys; to the right, above, the penitent thief, profile left, holding a large cross; in the foreground below, St. Benedict, profile left, who points with his left hand to the Christ Child. Below the clouds at the Madonna's feet, a medallion of small figures — the Signoria of Florence proceeding with trumpeters, mace-bearers, and "tavolaccini" to the convent of St. Anne.

The Madonna wears a red tunic and mauve head-dress; a green-blue mantle falls about her knees. St. Anne's head-dress is white of a violet tone, her mantle a grey-lavender. St. Sebastian has light brown hair and wears a dark mauve mantle. St. Peter is dressed in a blue-green shirt and light

red mantle; the penitent thief in a red mantle; St. Benedict in a grey mantle. In the medallion, reds, blues and mauves predominate under a green-blue sky. The cloud under the Virgin's feet is mauve. The background, a very dark grey.

Oil on wood. H. 2.28, w. 1.76.

Vasari (VI, 272 f.) states that the officers of the Signoria ordered this altar-piece for the nuns of St. Anne in Verzaia, whose convent (founded in 1318) was once outside the San Frediano gate. His statement explains the medallion at the feet of the Virgin. The members of the Signoria went annually (Richa, IV, 222) in solemn procession to this convent on the 26th of July in commemoration of the successful rebellion of the people against the tyrant Gualtieri of Brienne, Duke of Athens. The revolt began on the 26th of July, 1343. Milanesi refers to this fact. A misinterpretation of his note on our panel would seem to have led certain critics to give its date as 1543 (Berenson, F. P. R., p. 176; Seymour de Ricci, *Description,* p. 43; Goldschmidt, *op. cit.,* p. 47). Conte Gamba erroneously places it in 1524 (D. G. U., p. 3). It was painted, however, in the years immediately preceding the downfall of the Republic, probably in 1528. After leaving their original convent the nuns occupied successively several buildings (*Cronica di Buonaccorso Pitti*, p. 4, note) among them those of the hospital of Sant' Eusebio de' lebbrosi sul Prato where Richa saw our picture on the main altar of the church called then Sant' Anna sul Prato. It was brought to the Louvre by Napoleon. The composition, which Gamba finds "ammucchiata," recalls, in the central group, Leonardo's "Madonna and St. Anne" of the Louvre and, in the standing saints, many of Fra Bartolommeo's larger pictures. The St. Sebastian resembles the Sebastian from Dürer's workshop, now in the archbishop's palace at Ober St. Veit near Vienna.

Condition: badly cleaned but not seriously injured.

Date: about 1528.

Drawings: a finished, squared study, in pen and bistre, for the whole composition, Uffizi 460 (fig. 105; photo. Braun, Florence 133 and F. M. C.; B. F. D., pl. CLXXI). In the same collection (No. 13890, photo. Pini 1322) there is a late sixteenth century copy (h. .271, w. .197) of this drawing. It

is also in pen and bistre. Berenson (B. F. D., I, 320; II, 150) considers Uffizi 6681 to be a study for the Madonna's head. In my opinion this latter drawing is a sketch by Bronzino after a lost picture by Pontormo for which Uffizi 6729 is perhaps the original study.

Documents: The books of the Signoria for the period from which this panel dates have perished.

Reprod. Fig. 104; photo. Braun 11240; Landon, VI, pl. XX.

Bibl. Vasari,VI, 272 f.; Richa, IV, 220 ff.; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 484; *Notice des tableaux des écoles primitives,* 1814, No. 96, p. 81; Filhol, XVI, 21-24; Catalogue Villot, No. 157, p. 92; Catalogue Tauzia, No. 142; *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la galerie du Musée royal,* Paris, 1826, pp. 218 f.; Jacobsen, *Repertorium,* XXV (1902), pp. 185 f.; Pietro Passerini, *Storia degli stabilimenti di beneficenza di Firenze,* Firenze, 1853, 125 ff.; Passerini, *Curiosità storico-artistiche fiorentine,* art. *Degli Orti Oricellari,* Firenze, 1866, p. 3 ff.; Müntz, *Renaissance,* Paris, 1895, III, 499; Guido Carocci, *Ill. fior.,* 1906, p. 96 f.; Seymour de Ricci, *Description,* p. 40; B. F. D., I, 320; II, 338; B. F. P. R., 176; Gamba, D. G. U., 1912; *Dessins,* pp. 21, 22, 35, 40, 56, 71, 97, 103, 104, 115, 160, 163, 230, 284, 342.

1241. PORTRAIT OF AN ENGRAVER OF PRECIOUS STONES

Half-length; turned three-quarters to the right; the head turned a little to left; eyes look three-quarters to left. He is clean shaven; his long dark hair falls about his ears. He wears a four-cornered black hat with raised lappets, a dark coat with full sleeves and fur collar; at his throat, a small embroidered ruche. In his right hand he holds a burin. In front of him and to the right, the handle of a dagger (?) in which is set a jewel. Dark background.

Oil on wood. H. .69, w. .50.

From the collection of Louis XIV (Catal. Le Brun, 1683, No. 285); once at Versailles (Catal. Paillet, 1695), in the Petite Galerie du Roi (Catal. du 1er nov. 1695; Catal. Bailly, 1709); then at the Surintendance, in the Salon du Directeur des Bâtiments (Catal. Jeaurat, 1760); described by Lépicié (1752). Villot conjectured without foundation that the person represented is Giovanni delle Corniole (1470-1516). This is probably the earliest known portrait by Pontormo. The influence of Andrea is manifest, but already the touch of introspection in the eyes could only be Jacopo's. Müntz finds the colouring "poussé au noir" — a quality we of course owe, not to Pontormo, but to the discoloration of old varnish. Salle VI. A. Nord.

Condition: good but much darkened.

Date: about 1516.

Reprod. Fig. 10; engraved by Potrel; photo. Braun 11241; Filhol, II, pl. 83; Landon, VI, pl. 21; Vasari, trans. de Vere, VII, 174 (in colour).

Bibl. Filhol, *Galerie du Musée Napoléon,* XVI, 21-24; Catalogue Villot, No. 158, p. 93; Catalogue Tauzia, No. 143; Lépicié, I, 47; Engerand, *Inventaire,* I, 37; *Notice des tableaux du Musée royal,* pp. 218 f.; Müntz, *Renaissance,* p. 499, Lafenestre, No. 1241; B. F. P. R., p. 176; Seymour de Ricci, *op. cit.,* pp. 40 f.

PHILADELPHIA

Johnson Collection

83. PORTRAIT OF ALESSANDRO DE' MEDICI

Half-length seated figure turned three-quarters left. In his left hand he holds a sheet of paper on the corner of a table, in his right hand a stylus with which he draws, on the paper just mentioned, the head of a woman. He is beardless and has a swarthy complexion; he wears a black cloak and a biretta with lappets. The background is a wall and door ajar; to the extreme left it is a rich brown melting into dark grey, behind the head dark red and, where the door stands open, light grey.

Oil on wood. H. .97, w. .79.

Mentioned and described by Vasari (VI, 278) who states that Pontormo first made a miniature of the Duke "per più commodità" and then the portrait. The former, once in the Guardaroba of Cosimo I, has disappeared. The latter, of which all trace was lost for more than three hundred years, I have had the good fortune to identify with the present panel. In the middle of the sixteenth century even the Medici family did not know what had become of this portrait, and sometime before 1568 the Grand Duke offered a reward for information as to its whereabouts. Several years later his offer brought the Regent Ferdinando a letter (November 23, 1571) from a certain Costantino Ansoldi, a former servant of Alessandro's, to whom the latter had entrusted the bringing-up of his natural son, Giulio de' Medici. This interesting document is still preserved in the Florentine Archives and was first printed by Gualandi who did not connect it with Pontormo because in his transcription the painter's name appears as Jacopo da Ponte. Carnasecchi, who perceived its relation to Vasari's

description of Pontormo's portrait of Alessandro, reprinted it in the *Rivista d'arte,* although he was unaware that the portrait still survives. From it we learn several new facts. Our portrait was painted, it would seem, in Palazzo Pazzi just after the death of Clement VII, Alessandro's father, for whom he is represented in mourning attire. Later on Alessandro gave Costantino the portrait as a reward for good service, and he in turn gave it, after the Duke's death, to Taddea Malespina. Such, at least, is the old courtier's story, in regard to which we should add by way of comment, that, according to Vasari, it was Alessandro himself who gave the picture to Taddea. Costantino goes on to say that, by making inquiries of Giulia Malespina, a daughter of Taddea's who lived in Ferrara, he found that, at the death of Taddea, the panel had passed into the hands of Alberico Cybo, lord of Massa and husband of Ricciarda Malespina, Taddea's sister. With this information he forthwith went to Pisa and laid his case before Giulio, Alessandro's son, who promised to help him and who was actually able to induce the Lord of Massa to hand over the picture. But instead of giving it in turn to Costantino so that he might present it to the Grand Duke and claim the reward offered for finding it, Giulio had a wretched copy made which was begun by Vincenzo, painter to Giulio, and finished by Salvio, painter to Cavalier Somo. This copy Costantino indignantly refused to accept. The identification of our panel with Pontormo's long lost portrait rests not only upon the fact that it corresponds exactly to the descriptions of the work given by Costantino and Vasari but also upon the striking resemblance it bears to other known portraits of Alessandro. We may compare it with Vasari's portrait of the Duke, now in the Uffizi (No. 1281), which Pontormo himself criticized at the young Vasari's request (VII, 657) and which the latter describes in a letter to Ottaviano de' Medici; with Bronzino's portrait of Alessandro, now in Bergamo; with the modified replica of the latter, until recently in the Thode Collection, at Heidelberg; with a "bottega" copy of the Bergamo panel, now in the corridor between the Uffizi and the Pitti and labelled

in lettering of the sixteenth century ALEX · MED · FLOR · DUX · I · LAURENS · F · Bronzino's portrait of the Duke, its replicas and its copy are all derived from the present panel which is also the prototype of Vasari's likeness of Alessandro in the fresco of "Clement Crowning Charles V," Sala di Clemente VII, in the Palazzo Vecchio (photo. Alinari 4429). The date of our portrait falls in the interval between the death of Clement and the assassination of Alessandro. But these terminal dates are brought nearer together by two additional facts: the Duke is represented in mourning and Vasari distinctly states that the panel was contemporaneous with the "Venus and Cupid." It can, therefore, only have been painted in the autumn of 1534 or in the spring of 1535. From an iconographical point of view it is an important document and will serve as a criterion with which we may compare other likenesses of the Duke. These are not very numerous. A portrait (No. 96) described as "Alexandre de Medicis" (h. 17, w. 13 in.), ascribed to Bronzino and once in the Nesselrode Collection, was sold at the Fifth Avenue Art Galleries on April 6, 1911. It had formed part of the Brandus Galleries and passed into the hands of Mr. Walter Armann. Another portrait of Alessandro, "bust figure, wearing armour partly covered by a cloak" (panel, 25¾ by 13 in.) went at the Doetsch sale (No. 156) for thirteen guineas. It came from the Orléans Gallery, was ascribed to Bronzino, although seemingly only a poor "bottega" copy of a lost original, and bore the inscription: ALESANDER · MED · FLOR · D · I · (*Catalogue of the Doetsch Collection,* p. 45). There was, according to Frizzoni, a poor copy of the Bergamo copy in the collection of Lord Dudley, in London. Kenner mentions a bust portrait, turned slightly to the left, in the collection of Ferdinand von Tirol (No. 385) inscribed on the back: ALEXANDER · MEDICI · FLORENTIE · (SCIL · DUX); cf. *Jahrbuch d. kunsthis. Samml. d. Allerhöch. Kaiserhauses,* XVIII (1897), 153. The medal of the Duke ascribed to Domenico di Polo in the Lanna Collection is derived from Vasari's portrait of Alessandro, now in the Uffizi or from a similar lost portrait. Cf. also Vasari, V, 384.

Four medals of the Duke by Cellini are known and two others have been ascribed to him. We also have three with the mark ♂ which Fabriczy attributes to Domenico di Polo; one by an unknown artist of the second quarter of the sixteenth century; one by Francesco da San Gallo bearing the date MDLXX; one from the end of the century bearing on the reverse a rhinoceros, which Cicognara thought to be the work of Francesco dal Prato. These last are, of course, of no iconographical significance. Francesco dal Prato's "medaglia" was really a circular bas-relief that with others was part of the ornamentation of the Fortezza da Basso, in Florence (Vasari, VII, 43). Cf. *Catalogue de la collection Spitzer,* Paris, 1893, p. 233; Armand, *Médailleurs italiens,* 2e éd., I, 141, 147, 151, 157; II, 150, 151; Litta, *Famiglie italiane,* No. 17; *Catalogue von Lanna,* p. 13, 15, 153, 154.

Condition: recently restored; several vertical furrows have formed where the panel has shrunk but the paint has not been seriously broken, although cracked here and there.

Date: 1534-1535.

Document: A. S. F., Carteggio mediceo del Principato, filza 567, c. 187 and 225.

Reprod. Fig. 124. Battista Franco made a copy of this portrait which has been lost (VI, 575); fig., *Johnson Catalogue,* p. 283; fig., *Rassegna d'arte,* article cited below.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 278, 575; VII, 657; Gualandi, *Nuova raccolta di lettere,* III (1856), 62 f.; Carnasecchi, *Rivista d'arte,* V (1909), No. 1; F. M. Clapp, *Rassegna d'arte,* XIII (1913), 63-66; Frizzoni, *La Galleria Morelli in Bergamo,* Bergamo, 1892, p. 19; *Archivio storico,* V (1893), 222; *Johnson Catalogue,* p. 45.

POGGIO A CAJANO

The Great Hall in the Royal Villa

LUNETTE: VERTUMNUS AND POMONA

The composition is pierced in the centre by a bull's-eye window and the figures are arranged on two parapets.

Right half of the lunette, lower parapet: to the left, a woman reclining from right to left, her back turned; her complexion is pale; she wears a light blue head-dress, a grey-violet dress, a red drapery across her arms,

her white under-sleeves rolled up at the elbows. To the right, a woman reclining from right to left facing; she has an olive complexion and light brown hair in which a violet bow and she wears an olive-green dress with white scarf and violet sleeves; her left elbow rests on an orange drapery. Right half of the lunette, upper parapet: to the left, a nude child with blond hair seated facing, his right foot on the parapet, his left leg hanging down; he holds up, by a light blue ribbon, the great garland of green leaves and golden fruit which passes under the bull's-eye and of which the other end is held up by the nude boy, on the same parapet, on the other side of the lunette. To the extreme right, on the upper parapet, a woman seated astride of the wall, her right arm extended downward at her side, her hand upon the parapet, her left arm raised, her hand grasping a laurel branch; she is fair and wears a red dress with light blue sleeves, a white kerchief and white head-dress.

Left half of the lunette, lower parapet: a youth seated facing on an orange drapery, his legs extended to the right; he supports himself on his right hand, his left hand grasping the handle of a basket; he is dressed in a light mauve tunic with white under-sleeves and green leggings; at his waist a grey wallet; to his left, a light orange-coloured dog. To the extreme left, an old peasant seated nearly full face, his legs drawn up in front of him, his left hand on his right knee, his right hand on a basket which is placed to his right; he is dark complexioned and wears a yellow jacket and white under-shirt that falls between his knees. Left half of the lunette, upper parapet: a nude blond boy turned slightly to the left and seated astride of the parapet; his right hand rests on the top of the wall beside him, his left, extended downward, holds the pale blue ribbon of the garland that passes under the bull's-eye. To the left, a nude youth seated on the parapet against a green bush; his legs are spread apart and his body bent back to the left; his right elbow rests on top of the wall beside him, his left hand is raised to a laurel branch above his head; he has brown curly hair; under him there is a violet drapery, one end of which he holds up in his left hand. At the top of the bull's-eye to right and left, a "putto" seated on laurel branches that spring from the upper circumference of the window. The "putto," to the left, holds an ensign on which, letters now illegible; the "putto," to the right, holds a standard on which: I · V · P · P. On a decorative cartouche over the centre of the bull's-eye: STVDIV'| QVIBVS ARVA| TVERI; on a round cartouche under the bull's-eye: GLO|V:S; on the lower parapet to the extreme left: I · F · P · The parapets are yellow-grey; the background, dim mountains and clouds seen through a pale blue-violet summer haze.

Fresco. Lunette, h. 4.61, w. 9.90. The bull's-eye with its decorative frame is 3.20 in diameter.

Pontormo's masterpiece in mural painting. The decoration of the Great Hall was undertaken at the instance of Leo X in memory of his father, Lorenzo. Paolo Giovio, who in 1519-1521 was in Florence in the train of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, selected the subjects to be treated (V, 195). He evidently suggested to Jacopo the somewhat unusual one of Vertumnus

and Pomona. Earlier representations of the myth do exist in Italian art as, for example, in the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" of Frate Francesco Colonna, written in "italiano maccheronico" in 1467 and printed in Venice, "decembri MID aedibus," by Manutius with woodcuts ascribed to Giovanni Bellini and Sandro Botticelli, in which the deities are represented in triumphal cars. The story is found in Ovid (*Met.* B. 14, 623-697) and no divinity more fitting than Pomona — "qua nulla Latinas, Inter Hamadryadas coluit sollertius hortos" — could have been chosen to preside over a villa and its gardens. It will be noticed that, in certain details, Pontormo follows Ovid closely. In the fresco there is a wall that separates her garden from the world — "pomaria claudit intus." And Vertumnus, who went through a thousand changes to win Pomona, is represented here as a reaper and has a basket at his side:

> "O quoties habitu duri messoris aristas
> Corbe tulit, verique fuit messoris imago!"

In Pontormo's work the types and costumes are, of course, unaffected by any mere archeological accuracy. He followed his fancy with a free hand.

Ottaviano de' Medici was appointed superintendent of the work at Poggio, and Andrea di Cosimo and Franciabigio decorated and gilded the ceiling (V, 195). The latter painted on one of the side-walls "The Triumph of Cicero," and Andrea del Sarto painted on the other "Cæsar Receiving Tribute" (V, 36), which was finished by Alessandro Allori in 1580. To Pontormo was assigned the decoration of the end-walls, the upper parts of which are in the form of lunettes. He began with the lunette of the interior wall. Just after it was finished Leo X died and the work was suspended. Crowe and Cavalcaselle expressed the quite amazing opinion that both Andrea's and Franciabigio's work at Poggio is far above Pontormo's.

After the siege of the city Clement VII wished to complete the decoration of the Hall and gave Pontormo a commission for the entire undertaking (VI, 275 f.). But Jacopo never got

beyond preparing his cartoons, which later passed in part into the possession of Lodovico Capponi. These represented "Hercules and Anteus," "Venus and Adonis," and "Nudes Playing at Calcio." A large drawing (completely ruined) for the latter cartoon is now in the Uffizi (No. 13861). The decoration of the Hall was finally finished by Alessandro Allori to whom in great part its present appearance is due.

Condition: Although thoroughly cleaned and restored by Alessandro Allori, and retouched on several later occasions, it is comparatively uninjured. Allori speaks of his restoration in his "Ricordi" (Supino, *Biblioteca della rivista d'arte*, Firenze, 1908, pp. 28 f.): "1582. Ricordo questo di 18 di settembre come è restata finita la sala del Palazzo del Poggio a Caiano detto il Salone, luogo di S. A. S. doue ho lavorato più mesi in diuersi tempi auendo rifatto molte braceia e lauato e netto tutto quello che ui era fatto sino a tempo di papa Leone X; e ui lauorò Andrea del Sarto, Jacopo da Puntormo, e Franceseo Bigio; . . . La pittura che fece m° Jacopo da Puntormo fu uno areo sopra la porta e finestre che guardano verso Firenze, il qualc ho rinetto e lauato e rifatto l' aria."

Date: 1519-1521.

Drawings: possible first thoughts for the whole composition, Uffizi 454 (fig. 73; photo. Pini; Alinari; B. F. D., pl. CLXX; fig., *Vita d'arte,* 57, p. 5; Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*); Uffizi 455 (fig. 74; photo. F. M. C.); first ideas for the same, Uffizi 6660 verso (fig. 53; photo. Houghton; fig., *Vita d'arte,* 57, p. 6); Uffizi 6742 verso (photo. F. M. C.).

For individual figures; right half of the lunette, lower parapet: first idea for the woman to the left, Uffizi 6557 (fig. 54; photo. Houghton; F. M. C.; D. G. U., pl. IX); finished study for the same, Uffizi 6673 recto (fig. 55; photo. Houghton); for the woman to the right, sketches for the whole figure, Uffizi 6515 verso (fig. 57; photo. F. M. C.); Uffizi 6514 (fig. 56; photo. Houghton; F. M. C.); Uffizi 6544 (fig. 59; photo. Houghton); Uffizi 6555 (fig. 60; photo. Houghton); finished study, Uffizi 6673 verso (fig. 58; photo. F. M. C.); first ideas for the boy to the left, upper parapet, Uffizi 6512; Uffizi 6646 (fig. 65; photo. Houghton); Uffizi 6669 recto and verso (figs. 67 and 68; photo. Houghton; F. M. C.); Uffizi 8976 recto (fig. *Vita d'arte,* 57, pl. II); 8976 verso (*idem,* pl. VIII); first ideas for the woman to the right, upper parapet, Corsini 124243 verso (photo. F. M. C.); Uffizi 6557 (photo. Houghton; F. M. C.; D. G. U., pl. IX); first thought for the head and shoulders of the same, Uffizi 6632 (photo. Houghton; Pini; D. G. U., pl. II); possible first idea for the drapery of the same, Uffizi 6667 verso; first thought for the drapery, Uffizi 6437 recto and verso; study for the folds of the drapery, Uffizi 6519 verso; finished study for the drapery, Uffizi 6530 (photo. Houghton); sketch for the right leg, Uffizi 6728 verso; first thought for the whole figure, Uffizi 6662 verso (fig. 62; photo. F. M. C.); finished study for the upper part of the figure, Uffizi 6531 (fig. 63; photo. Houghton); finished study for the head, Uffizi 6547 (fig. 64; photo. F. M. C.); first ideas for the "putto" to the right above the bull's-eye, Corsini 124240 (photo. F. M. C.);

Uffizi 6660 (photo. Houghton; F. M. C.; fig., *Vita d'arte,* 57, p. 9); jotting for the head of same, Uffizi 6728 verso.

Left half of the lunette, lower parapet: study for the arm of the youth to the right, Uffizi 6559 recto (fig. 70; photo. F. M. C.); possible first thoughts for the peasant (Vertumnus) to the left, Uffizi 6515 (photo. Houghton; F. M. C.); Uffizi 6599 (photo. Houghton); Uffizi 6685 recto (fig. 71; photo. Houghton); Uffizi 6685 verso; first thoughts for the same, Uffizi 6530 verso (photo. F. M. C.); Uffizi 6590 (photo. Houghton); finished study for the head, Uffizi 6579 (fig. 72; photo. Houghton); finished study for the boy to the right, upper parapet, Uffizi 6651 (fig. 69; photo. Houghton); possible first thoughts for the youth to the left, upper parapet, Uffizi 6632 (photo. Houghton; Pini; D. G. U., pl. II); Uffizi 6634 (photo. Pini); first idea for the "putto" to the left over the bull's-eye, Uffizi 6660 (photo. Houghton; F. M. C.; fig., *Vita d'arte,* 57, p. 9); sketches for the same, Uffizi 6511 and 6559 verso; study for the same, Uffizi 6661 (fig. 66; photo. Houghton).

Reprod. Fig. 50; fig. 51, right half of the lunette; fig. 52, left half of the lunette; photo. Perazzi; Alinari 29442, 29443, 29444; fig., *Vita d'arte,* 57.

Bibl. Vasari, V, 36, 195; VI, 265; Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 393; Allegrini, *Pitture,* Firenze, 1751; B. F. D., I, 310-312, 314, n., 316, 317; II, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 153; B. F. P. R., p. 175; Alessandro Allori, *Ricordi,* 28 f.; *Dessins,* 20, 34, 39, 55, 56, 68, 98, 99, 100, 101, 114, 118, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 128, 131, 135, 136, 138, 141, 142, 144, 146, 147, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 165, 171, 173, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 185, 186, 195, 196, 197, 203, 206, 207, 212, 213, 214, 215, 218, 220, 221, 224, 227, 232, 233, 236, 261, 262, 264, 270, 271, 272, 273, 278, 282, 283, 292, 307, 328, 329; *On Certain Drawings,* 8 f., 20 f.; Jacobsen, *Repertorium,* XXI, 282; Di Pietro, *Due disegni di Jacopo da Pontormo, Vita d'arte,* 57, 1912; D. G. U., p. 2.

PONTORMO

San Michele

ST. MICHAEL

Full-length; turned three-quarters right; head three-quarters left; the eyes look at the spectator; weight on left leg, the right leg bent, the foot resting on the shoulder of a "putto" seated on the ground. In the saint's left hand, a pair of balances; in his raised right hand, a broad sword; behind him one dimly sees his great grey-white wings. He wears a greenish silvery cuirass, cubitière, grey purplish chausses, orange-yellow greaves, and a purplish grey drapery which passes over the left shoulder and across the waist; his white tunic puffed at the shoulder is visible on the right arm. He has dark brown, curly hair. The "putto" seated between his feet is turned three-quarters right; his right arm extended at his side, his left hand extended up and to the right holding a globe; his right leg bent, his left extended right; his head inclined on his left shoulder, the eyes looking up. Dark background.

Oil on wood covered with a thin layer of "gesso." H. 1.80, w. (at bottom) .55; (at top) .70.

Mentioned by Vasari (VI, 259). This panel which occupies the space to the right of the shrine is a pendant to the following which occupies the space to the left. Originally on the altar of the Madonna.

Condition: darkened and chipped here and there but practically unharmed. The panel was cut in the seventeenth century to fit the gilded frame of the altar-shrine. This reduction of the picture sacrificed part of the scales, the left forearm, part of the left wing, right forearm and hand of St. Michael as well as the back of the "putto."

Date: 1518-1519.

Drawings: finished study for the legs of the saint, Uffizi 6506 (fig. 40; photo. Pini; Houghton; Perazzi; F. M. C.; fig., *Rivista d'arte,* III, 149); the right foot is studied again on the same sheet; the hands of the saint are sketched on Uffizi 6571 (fig. 37; photo. F. M. C.) for which, see the following.

Documents: The earliest books of this parish that now remain in the church date from 1664; the earliest in the Florentine Archives, from 1533. The church belonged to Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri di Pisa. Perhaps among the records of the latter church, some of which are in the Archives of Pisa, documentary evidence about this picture might be found.

Reprod. Fig. 36; photo. Perazzi; fig., article cited below.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 259; Odoardo H. Giglioli, *Il San Giovanni Evangelista ed il San Michele dipinti da Pontormo per la chiesa di San Michele a Pontormo presso Empoli, Rivista d'arte,* III, 146; B. F. D., I, 314; II, 141; B. F. P. R., p. 176; *Dessins,* pp. 11, 34, 39, 47, 68, 118, 161.

ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Full-length; nearly profile right; the head nearly full face and inclined on the right shoulder; the eyes gaze up and left; weight on right leg, the left crossed over the right, the toes only of the foot resting on the ground; the right arm bent and raised to a large tablet on which he writes with a quill. He is bald and wears a long white beard. He is dressed in a tunic and voluminous dark green mantle gathered in great folds about the hips; the lining of this mantle is red; a white tunic shows at the wrists. Background, grey-green.

Oil on wood covered with a thin layer of "gesso." H. 1.80, w. (at bottom) .55, (at top) .70.

Mentioned by Vasari; pendant to the preceding. Originally on the altar of the Madonna.

Condition: chipped here and there along the edges and on the robe and feet; darkened with varnish and smoke. The panel has been cut down to fit the space to the left of a seventeenth century carved and gilded frame of the altar-shrine; part of the tablet, right hand and left side of the figure were sacrificed on that occasion.

Date: 1518-1519.

Drawing: finished study for the whole figure, Uffizi 6571 (fig. 37; photo. F. M. C.; fig., *Rivista d'arte,* III, 148; D. G. U., pl. I). On the same sheet one finds a study that Berenson believes to be for the left hand of our St. John. It is, however, for the left hand of St. Michael; cf. the preceding.

Documents: see the preceding.

Reprod. Fig. 35; photo. Perazzi; fig., article cited above.

Bibl. See above and B. F. D., II, 144; D. G. U., p. 1; *Dessins,* pp. 11, 34, 39, 47, 68, 107, 161.

ROME

Galleria Borghese

75. LUCRETIA

Bust figure, the shoulders almost full face, the head turned three-quarters right. She has an olive complexion, dark auburn hair with golden lights, almost black eyes, lips delicately tinted. A dull green drapery is thrown over her left shoulder. She wears an elaborate head-dress of gilded bronze with golden lights. On the left side of this ornament one can trace a pattern of black enamel or inlaid steel; at the top two "putti" support a medallion on which is a little pyramid. In her left hand she holds upright a damascened dagger with a bronze handle and a steel blade. The background is greenish black. In the lower right corner, the inventory number 420.

Oil on slate. H. .56, w. .43.

From the original Borghese Collection. Ascribed to Bronzino in the catalogue and by Morelli, Schulze and Lafenestre. Berenson gives it tentatively to Pontormo, although there seems to be no reason to question its authenticity. It should be compared with Bronzino's "Cleopatra" that hangs in the same collection — a picture which seems to have been suggested by a drawing of Michelangelo's, now in Casa Buonarotti (BB. 1655; Thode, *Krit. Unters.,* II, 342) and in which the influence of Pontormo is hardly discernible.

Condition: damaged here and there; on the hand some of the "impasto" has fallen.

Date: 1529-1530.

Reprod. Fig. 119; photo. Moscioni; Brogi 15881 (as Bronzino); Gowan's *Art Books, Masterpieces of Bronzino,* No. 18.

Bibl. Lafenestre, *Rome,* p. 14; Venturi, *Galleria Borghese,* 1893; Morelli, *op. cit.,* p. 130; B. F. P. R., p. 176.

408. PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL SPANNOCCHI CERVINI

Three-quarter length. He is seated in a Dante chair and is turned three-quarters left; he has curly dark brown hair and beard and is growing bald; he wears a scarlet watered silk robe and cape, his purple cassock showing at neck and wrists, embroidered white sleeves and white collar; on his head a scarlet biretta. In front of him, a table covered with a carpet of black and yellow arabesques on a red ground and bordered with a black and white pattern picked out in yellow, red, and green; in his hands, resting on the table before him, he holds a book on which is inscribed at the top of the page and half hidden by his thumb: Jpo| ...MO; farther down the page one perceives a large K and VNA...M, but the rest is illegible. On the upper part of the opposite page one reads: MARIO (?). To the right of the book a silver bell with figures — a Charity and a Pelican — in relief and a red woven handle ending in three tassels. Behind the sitter, to the left, the wall of the room is made up of small black panels, framed in light wood, with a small pattern in "tarsia" or in Spanish stamped leather on which is repeated three times the arms of the Spannocchi of Siena and of the Cervini. Above these panels, the grey-green stone cornice of the room. On the right in the background, a Renaissance cupboard with pediment, ionic pilasters surmounted by masques, four drawers and two doors.

Oil on wood. H. 1.03, w. .84.

Provenance unknown; not mentioned by Vasari; long ascribed to Raphael. Morelli was the first to notice that this portrait is clearly a Pontormo, although strangely enough he compared it with the unauthentic full-length portraits of Cosimo Vecchio and Cosimo I (once Uffizi 1267 and 1270, and really by Vasari), which are now in the Palazzo Vecchio. The pose he thought was inspired by Raphael's "Portrait of Leo X," now in the Pitti. We might note in passing that the red of the robe and the table-cloth is characteristic of our master. Venturi identified the personage represented by determining the ownership of the arms on the wall to the left. The only cardinal between 1480 and 1550 who had a right to the arms of the Spannocchi and Cervini families was Marcello Cervini degli Spannocchi afterwards Pope Marcellus. He was born at Montepulciano in 1501 and educated in Casa Spannocchi. He went to Rome in 1523 and in 1539 he accompanied Alessandro Farnese on a diplomatic mission to France and the Low Countries. On his return to Rome he was made cardinal. He administered the dioceses of Nicastro, Reggio, and Gubbio, and in 1545 he was made one of the presidents of the Council of

Trent — a position that he seems to have held until 1547. He was elected pope on April 9, 1555. This portrait was probably painted in Rome between 1540, when Cervini returned from his diplomatic missions, and 1545 when he left Rome for Trent. That Pontormo was in Rome during these years we know from various drawings of Roman antiquities which bear his handwriting and are now in the Louvre. The realism of the background indicates the interior of a Spannocchi or a Cervini palace. Venturi correctly places this panel about 1540. He notes that Passavant, recalling *La descrizione di Roma moderna,* 1727, p. 497, thought it to be a portrait of a Cardinal Borgia, although he was in doubt whether it represented Pietro Ludovico, cardinal of Santa Maria in Via Lata, or Francesco Borgia. Both were created cardinals in 1500 by Alessandro VI. But the technique of the portrait makes Passavant's supposition quite untenable, since the former died in 1512 and the latter in 1511. Moreover, the church did not allow its functionaries to wear beards until 1527. Passavant drew attention to the Turkish carpet which covers the table, finding it similar to the table-cover that one sees in Raphael's "Portrait of Inghirami." This carpet has also been more recently identified, and not too convincingly, with a Turkish rug in the collection of von Tucker, once Bavarian minister to the Quirinal. Crowe and Cavalcaselle felt that the head and hands recall Raphael, but they found that the colouring, especially the red, was not his. They gave the picture to Pierin del Vaga.

Condition: retouched here and there.

Date: 1540-1545.

Reprod. Fig. 130; photo. Anderson; Alinari 7990; Braun 43018; fig., *Klassicher Bilderschatz,* No. 976; Lafenestre, *Rome,* p. 44; Rusconi, *La Villa, il Museo e la Galleria Borghese,* p. 118; *Die Galerien Europas,* I, No. 88 (in colour); *Tappeti de' dipinti dei secoli XV e XVI, L'Arte,* IV (1901), Appendix 3, p. 3, fig. 3; *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern,* III, 94, 4; small woodcut, Reinach, *Répert.,* I, 661.

Bibl. Morelli, *op. cit.,* pp. 128-130; Venturi, catalogue cited above; Müntz, *Renaissance,* III, p. 499, Passavant, *Raphaël,* II, 350; Lafenestre, *Rome,* p. 45; Frizzoni, *Giovanni Morelli e la critica moderna, Arch. stor. d'arte,* 1897, p. 87; Rusconi, *op. cit.*. B. F. P. R., p. 176. For Marcellus, see Polydorus, *De vita, gestis et moribus Marcelli II Papae,* Rome, 1744.

Galleria Corsini

577. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Bust figure; shoulders turned slightly left, head three-quarters right. He has a pale complexion and dark eyes, scant brown beard and darker hair; he wears a black coat with a soft linen collar embroidered in yellow. The background, dark olive-grey across the upper left corner of which the folds of a curtain sweep.

Oil on wood. H. .63, w. .46.

From the original Corsini Collection. The identity of the sitter has not been determined. Ascribed in the catalogue to the "Scuola del Pontormo." It is, however, by the master himself, though in its present ruined state it is the feeblest of the authentic portraits.

Condition: disastrously cleaned and completely restored; numerous small vertical cracks.

Reprod. Photo. Moscioni 21533.

Palazzo Barberini

83. PYGMALION AND GALATEA

To the left Galatea stands on a block of stone; she is turned three-quarters right, her right hand raised to her shoulder, her left holding up the deep pink drapery that hangs from her hips; her hair is dark; she looks at the spectator. On the right Pygmalion kneels profile left, his hands raised and clasped before him; his hair is dark; he looks in adoration at Galatea. He wears a blue jerkin, a yellow scarf round his hips, dark pink hose, dark stockings and shoes. On the brown ground beside him lie hammer and sculptor's tools. In the centre of the picture, a three-sided altar of greyish purple stone which bears the inscription: NIHILV| VT| VEN|VS, and on which a grey bull is sacrificed. The altar is ornamented on the right side with a scroll supported by two hermæ as caryatids, on the left side by two larger gaines, the nearer of which represents Venus holding an apple, the farther, Paris who gazes at her, his arm resting on her shoulders. On the right of the altar, an urn of "rosso antico" ornamented with lions' heads. To the left of Galatea, a stool on which sculptor's tools. The background is a hilly landscape with, on the left, a winding river, two small figures and a house, on the right, a small bare tree; the general tone of the distance is greenish brown. The sky is green, the horizon red. Red flames and grey

smoke rise from the altar. On the lower left side of the panel: *F. 16.* On the back, an illegible note in ink.

Oil on wood. H. .79, w. .62.

Mentioned by Vasari as painted by Bronzino and as once forming the cover of the portrait, now lost, that Pontormo painted of Francesco Guardi during the siege of Florence. Only the altar and certain accessories suggest the hand of Bronzino. Vasari, to whom the latter probably told the story of the painting of this panel, misinterpreted Bronzino's part in it and gave him credit for the whole composition, the greater part of which is indubitably by Pontormo. The picture belonged to the original Barberini Collection, as is shown by the mark *F. 16,* and was long ascribed to Baldassare Peruzzi. Morelli was the first to recognize here the hand of Jacopo; Berenson follows Morelli's attribution. Goldschmidt, who incorrectly gives the number as 16, repeats Vasari's error in ascribing the whole composition to Bronzino.

Condition: excellent.

Date: 1530-1531.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 275; Lafenestre, *Rome,* p. 150; Morelli, *Borghese and Doria Pamfili Galleries,* 1900, p. 30; Goldschmidt, *op. cit.,* p. 55; B. F. P. R., p. 176; *Dessins,* pp. 35, 71, 118, 340.

Palazzo Quirinale

TAPESTRY: LAMENTATION OF JACOB

In the foreground, Jacob dressed in a loose tunic kneels three-quarters right, his shoulders turned three-quarters left, his head profile left, his hands clasped before his face. Behind him a figure in a tunic that falls from the shoulders stands full face, his head profile left, his right arm extended downward at his side, and displays the bloody cloth; his raised left hand points to the right. To the left and above, a woman's figure, full face, her head profile left; she is dressed in a dark robe and wears a scarf on her hair; with her two hands extended on either side she holds up the bloody cloth. In the background, a hillock over which the heads of various spectators are visible. To the right, a tree; in the middle ground, above and to the left, a smaller tree; in the extreme foreground, various plants. The border consists, at the top, of fruit, with masks at either upper corner; on either side, bunches

of fruit and leaves with two "putti" who gather them, seated astride of terms; below these, masks and flowers; along the bottom of the border, a garland of fruit.

Designed by Pontormo and woven by Giovanni Rost; mentioned by Vasari (VI, 283) who states that the composition pleased neither the Grand Duke nor the Flemish weavers. Vasari states elsewhere (VII, 599) that the commission for the first designs for the tapestries which were to adorn the Sala de' Dugento was given to Pontormo. This statement is denied by Conti (*Ricerche storiche*) who thinks that Bronzino began work on designs for the weavers in 1545, Salviati in 1547, Pontormo in 1548, and Bacchiacca in the same year. Geisenheimer (*Bollettino d'arte,* II (1909), 137-147), quoting a letter of the Maggiordomo to Cristiano Pagni (Cart. Med. 375, p. 58; December 18, 1545; Milanesi, *Spoglie dell' archivio mediceo,* p. 94) that accompanied what he believes to have been the first tapestry, woven according to the communication in question from a design of Bronzino's, places the completion of the first tapestry of the series about October 20, 1546, which is the date of the first definite contract between the ducal government and Rost and Kracher, the weavers (A. S. F., Rogati di Ser Giov. Batt. Giordani, G 299, 127 t., 132 r.). Irrefutable evidence, nevertheless, exists that Rost began work somewhat earlier than has been generally supposed. In the books of the Guardaroba (Debitori e Creditori, No. 10, 1544-1553) under the date of September 11, 1545, we read: "M° Janni reost fiamigho tappeziere △ 642"; and a little farther on we find another entry of the same 642 ducats. Moreover, there is in the contract made with the weavers in October, 1546, a reference, afterwards cancelled, to two tapestries then on the looms and almost finished. These were delivered in August and September, 1547, and the subjects represented show that they were not woven from cartoons by Pontormo. The documents make it clear that both Bronzino and Salviati were in the employ of the Medici in 1544 and 1545 (Guardaroba, No. 10, pp. 10, 29, 29 v., 33, 35, 37, 60, 65), although it is important to remember that, at that moment, Salviati was at work on the "sala della cappella del

palagio ducale." If Bronzino furnished the first cartoons for the projected series of tapestries he did so before going to Rome, for a letter of his to Cosimo, dated April 30, 1548 (Filza 273; Gaye, II, 368), makes it evident that he did not earnestly turn his attention to designing the remainder of the tapestries included in his commission until after that date. On May 15 he wrote to the Grand Duke another letter which leads one to believe that he had been paid in part for his cartoons before he left Florence. All things considered, I am inclined to think that Vasari's story (VI, 283 f.; VII, 28, 599), in regard to the sequence of the various cartoons, is fairly consistent. It is, in all likelihood, more trustworthy than some of the "elenchi," especially those that date from the administration of Tanay de' Medici which only began in 1555. The present subject does not appear in the first lists of tapestries delivered, but I am led to conjecture from the marked similarity of Pontormo's and Bronzino's earliest designs for the weavers that Pontormo's cartoons dated from the very beginning of the enterprise, although they were not woven until after several of Bronzino's had been carried to completion on the looms. This tapestry with a number of others belonging to the same series was sent to Rome from Palazzo Pitti in 1887. The composition is in part made up of motives derived from Michelangelo's Doni "Holy Family," Pontormo's own "Adoration of the Magi," now in the Pitti, his "Deposition" of the Capponi Chapel, and his design for the "Death of Abel" of the choir of San Lorenzo which is now known to us only in his preparatory study (Uffizi 6739).

Date of cartoon: 1545-1546.

Documents: A. S. F., Guardaroba F. 15, pp. 91 t., 94 t. See also above.

Reprod. Fig., *Bollettino d'arte,* III (1909), 140; Keuller, *op. cit. infra,* pl. XXVI.

Bibl. Vasari, see above; Geisenheimer, article quoted above; Conti, *Ricerche storiche sull' arte degli arazzi a Firenze,* Firenze, 1875, pp. 48, 97, 99 f.; *idem, Prima reggia,* Firenze, 1893, pp. 94, 206; Müntz, *Collections des Médicis; idem, Histoire générale de la tapisserie,* p. 63; Gaye, *loc. cit.;* Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio,* Firenze, 1911, p. 129; Rigoni, *Catalogo della R. Galleria d'Arazzi,* Firenze, 1884, pp. IX, 74 f.; Keuller, *Tapisseries historiées à l'exposition nationale belge de 1880.*

TAPESTRY: JOSEPH AND POTIPHAR'S WIFE

In the foreground right Potiphar's wife stands draped in a light tunic and a large mantle, her left arm extended at her side, her right hand grasping the folds of Joseph's mantle; her head is turned three-quarters left, a tress hangs over her right shoulder and crosses her breast. To the left stands Joseph, nearly full face, wrapped in a voluminous mantle. Behind Potiphar's wife, the head and shoulders, turned three-quarters left, of a negress. Behind Joseph, the upper part of the face of a servant. In the background, the canopy of a bed, hung from a Renaissance ceiling, behind which to the right the head and shoulders of a servant are visible. The border corresponds to that of the preceding with certain modifications; at the bottom the garland is made up of different kinds of fruit.

Mentioned by Vasari; woven by Karcher. First cited in the list of July 15, 1549, again on August 3, 1549, and again on October 27, 1553 (A. S. F., Guardaroba, No. 27): "Nota de tutte l'arrazzerie condotte in guardaroba di S. ec^{a} da m^{ro} Niccholas carchra dal di che comincio di lauorare per S. Ec^{a} sino adesso. n^{o} 6. U^{o} panno della fuga di iosef dalla donna di phutifar." Cf. the remarks on the preceding.

Date of the cartoon: 1545-1546.
Reprod. Fig. 136; fig., article in the *Bollettino d'arte* cited above.
Bibl. See above.

TAPESTRY: BENJAMIN AT THE COURT OF PHARAOH

In the centre Joseph seated on a dais and turned three-quarters left, his head full face, his left arm extended to the right. Before him and to the left, Benjamin seen nearly full face, his right leg bent, his arms raised to the left above his head, his right hand held by the right hand of Joseph. In the foreground right Judah kneels seen from behind, his arms lifted in supplication. To the right of Joseph, a servant seen from behind who looks down and to the right. To the left of Joseph, a servant seen full face, his head profile right, his left arm reached out to the cup of Benjamin which is held by another servant who occupies the upper part of the composition and who is turned profile right, her head full face. The background is the wall of a room in a palace. The border is practically identical with that of the preceding.

Vasari mentions (VI, 284; VII, 599) only two cartoons for tapestries furnished by Pontormo. But in the list of the seven tapestries which had been delivered up to July 15, 1549 (Guardaroba, F. 15, pp. 91 v. and 94 v.) another tapestry of the same dimensions as the present composition is mentioned and

given to Pontormo: "Panno simile disegno di Pont'olmo detto la coppa di Josef — lungo 8. L. 4." This might well be our tapestry which displays, even to the minutest details, all the characteristics of the other two tapestries woven from cartoons by Jacopo and none of the qualities exhibited by those known to have been woven from designs by Bronzino, such as the "Family of Jacob in Egypt" (Quirinal) or those still preserved in the Palazzo Vecchio. We must, however, note that the list mentioned above speaks of a "Cattura di Beniamino" — a title that fits the present design even better than "Coppa di Josef." But this second tapestry is ascribed to Bronzino, and I am inclined to believe that the entry in question really refers to Bronzino's "Cattura di Simeone." In any case, the present subject might easily have been described by a careless clerk as a "Coppa di Josef" and the cartoon of our tapestry, if not actually by Jacopo, was directly inspired by him. Of this we have abundant proof in a drawing (Uffizi 6593), for the figure (reversed) to the extreme right, which is undoubtedly a Pontormo (*Dessins,* pp. 172 f.). There is, of course, another explanation that might be advanced: the preparation of the numerous cartoons included in the commission given to Bronzino was a great burden and his letters show that he was compelled to hand over the manual part of it to Raffaello da Colle (VII, 599). May it not be possible that the subject of this tapestry was among those assigned to Bronzino, but that he utilized for it drawings already made by Jacopo before the dissatisfaction of the Duke and the weavers caused the latter to forego further participation in this enterprise?

Date: 1546-1553.

Drawing: for the figure seen from behind to the extreme right (reversed), Uffizi 6593 (fig. 135; photo. F. M. C.).

Documents. See above and the preceding two numbers.

Reprod. Fig. 134; fig., article cited above.

Bibl. See above and the preceding; also *Dessins,* pp. 35, 74, 172, 173.

VIENNA

Belvedere

48. PORTRAIT OF AN OLD LADY

Three-quarter length; turned slightly left; seated in a chair the arms of which are carved. She holds in her left hand a book, the index-finger between the leaves; her right hand rests on the arm of the chair. She wears a dark fur-lined dress with fur collar open at the throat between the lapels of which a white chemisette, also open at the throat, is visible; on head and brow, a transparent veil. Dark background, in the upper right corner of which the inscription: AN · AET · LXXII.

Oil on poplar wood. H. 1.09, w. .92.

Provenance unknown; first mentioned in Rosa's catalogue of 1804 (III, 13, No. 15) as "Unknown." Albrecht Krafft (1837) believed it to be by an unidentified Dutch artist. Erasmus Engerth gave it to Andrea del Sarto. Hermann Voss has recently suggested that it is the work of some one associated with Vasari. Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Berenson ascribe it to Pontormo of whose later manner in portraiture it is an admirable example full of penetration and dignity.

Condition: good; a vertical crack between the boards on the right side; a small piece added on the right and at the bottom; slightly restored here and there.

Date: 1550-1556.

Reprod. Fig. 150; photo. Bruckmann, 1905.

Bibl. Catalogues of 1895 and 1896, p. 21; of 1907, p. 16; Engerth, *Verzeichnis*, p. 294; Voss, *Zeitschrift f. bildende Kunst*, 1912, p. 44, n.; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, III, 509; ed. Borenius, VI, 196; B. F. P. R., p. 177.

YERKES COLLECTION

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN

Half-length; seated in an arm chair before a table, she is turned three-quarters to the left and looks at the spectator. Her hair is bound in an ornamental gold net and she wears a crimson gown cut low with large puffed sleeves, a white lace chemisette open at the throat and, at her wrists, frills. She has a ring on the ring-finger of her left hand and on the forefinger of

her right hand, and round her neck, a small gold chain. The table is covered with a red cloth on which lies an open book in which one reads: CANTO at the head of two pages of illegible verse printed in two columns of four stanzas each to the page, each stanza consisting of eight lines; at the further end of the table lies a bunch of carnations (?). Her right hand rests on the right-hand page, her left on the corner of the table. Behind her, a looped-up curtain.

Oil on wood. H. 1.40, w. .67. (Catalogue gives h. 35¼ in., w. 26½ in.)

Falsely ascribed to Bronzino. Provenance and present whereabouts unknown. As Berenson noted as long ago as 1906, this is a fine and characteristic work of our master's.

Condition: slightly damaged; a small piece has been added at the top.

Date: 1534-1545.

Reprod. Fig. 131; fig., catalogue de luxe cited below.

Bibl. *Catalogue from Collection of Charles T. Yerkes, Chicago,* Chicago, 1893; *Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of Charles T. Yerkes,* Boston, 1904; *Catalogue de Luxe of Ancient and Modern Paintings Belonging to the Estate of the Late Charles T. Yerkes,* New York, 1910; Berenson, *Le pitture italiane nella raccolta Yerkes, Rassegna d'arte,* VI (1906), 35.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF
PICTURES ATTRIBUTED TO PONTORMO

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF
PICTURES ATTRIBUTED TO PONTORMO

ALNWICK CASTLE

Collection of the Duke of Northumberland

VIRGIN AND CHILD

A replica of pictures in the collection of the Earl of Northbrook and at Hampton Court. Ascribed to Andrea; believed to be a Pontormo by Crowe and Cavalcaselle. I have not seen this picture.

Bibl. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, 1911, III, 514; ed. Borenius, VI, 202.

ASSISI

ST. AGATHA

Medallion; bust figure, turned three-quarters to right; she looks at the spectator; robe open at neck and trimmed with white frilling; scarf thrown over hair, a plait of which falls over left shoulder; in her left hand, the pincers of her martyrdom.

Ascribed to Pontormo but not authentic; once in the Constantini Collection, Florence; later in that of Mr. Perkins, at Assisi. Companion piece to the following; its present whereabouts is unknown to me.

Photo. Reali.

ST. LUCIA

Medallion; bust figure, turned three-quarters to the left; she looks at spectator; robe open at neck and edged with white; sleeve of lighter stuff; hair elaborately arranged and bound with a ribbon; a plait falls over right shoulder; in her left hand, on a plate. she holds her eyes.

Same remarks as for preceding.

Photo. Reali.

AVIGNON

Musée Calvet

516. YOUNG WOMAN DRESSING

Oil on wood. H. .75, w. .81.

Attributed to Pontormo; not mentioned by Berenson; bought in 1836 at Lyons from M. Peyre. I have not seen this picture.

Bibl. *Catalogue des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée-Calvet d'Avignon,* Joseph Girard, François Seguin, Avignon, 1909, p. 114; Théodore Guédy, *Musées de France,* Paris, Boulevard Saint Germain, 168, p. 61.

BALTIMORE

Walters Collection

596. PORTRAIT OF A LADY

A little less than half-length; over the head and most of the forehead, and hanging down on the shoulders, a veil of white gauze. She wears a décolletée black dress, the square opening edged with the same gauze. The eyebrows are arched and thin. Her hands rest on a table in the lower left-hand corner of the picture, her right hand hanging over the edge; her left hand rests on the wrist of the right hand at the base of the bent little finger. Between the thumb and the long curved, full, but slim, forefinger she holds a dark oval object that might be a large "intaglio." The neck is full and long. The background is dark green at the top shading down into the same colour as the dress.

Oil on wood. H. 34¼ in, w. 27¾ in.

Bibl. *The Walters Collection,* p. 126.

BERGAMO

Pinacoteca Lochis

145. PORTRAIT OF A MAN HOLDING A ROLL OF PAPER

Oil on wood. H. .27, w. .19.

Bibl. *La Pinacoteca e la Villa Lochis alla Crocetta di Mozzo, presso Bergamo,* 2d ed., Bergamo, 1858, pp. 247 f.

BERLIN

A Private Collection

MADONNA AND CHILD

Copy of the picture ascribed to Pontormo in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. See also Boston Museum; Castello; Cenacolo di Foligno, Florence; Cook Collection, London; Hampton Court; Collection of Mr. Vernon Watney, Cornbury Park, Oxford.

ATTRIBUTED PICTURES

BOLOGNA

Accademia

MADONNA AND CHILD

The Madonna, seen to the knees, stands behind a wall; she is turned slightly to the right and holds the Christ Child about the waist with both hands and gazes down at him; she wears an elaborate head-dress. The Child stands on the parapet and is seen from behind, the head profile left. In the background, a landscape with, left and right, a slim tree.

Once ascribed to Pontormo. The first edition of the *Cicerone* preserved the traditional attribution to Jacopo, but von Zahn in the second edition gave this picture to Bugiardini of whose work it seems to me to be an authentic specimen. The long narrow ear, the carefully modelled nostril, the fulness about the eye, the hard meagre folds of the drapery, speak eloquently for Giuliano. This seems to be the picture that, in this collection, Berenson ascribes to Franciabigio. Still other critics have suggested, it would seem, that it was painted by Visino, the pupil of Albertinelli (Vasari, IV, 228).

Bibl. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, III, 444; *Cicerone*, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1874, III, 981.

BOSTON

Museum of Fine Arts

MADONNA AND CHILD

Oil on wood. H. 1.26, w. 1.03.

Copy of a late composition by Pontormo, now lost, from which we have various derivatives. Cf. in this catalogue under Berlin, Castello, Florence, Hampton Court, London, Munich. This picture was given to the Museum by Mrs. S. D. Warren. Once attributed to Bronzino; later to Bernardino Lanini with a query. It is probably the work of Battista Naldini. The date 1561 appears on the paper which is held by St. Elizabeth.

BUDAPEST

Museum of Fine Arts

181 (491). HOLY FAMILY

In the centre: the Madonna seated on the ground, turned three-quarters left, her head full face, her eyes looking down, her right hand laid beside her, her left arm extended at her side, the hand holding a swaddling-cloth against her left thigh. Her dress is open at the neck, the sleeves turned back at the elbows; on her head, a scarf an end of which hangs down on her right shoulder. Over her right shoulder a voluminous mantle is thrown

which passes behind her back and falls to the ground in the right foreground. The Christ Child is seated in her lap turned three-quarters to left; he holds in his lap a vase of flowers; he looks down, his head bent forward; curly blond hair. In front of him to the left, the little St. John seen from behind, turned three-quarters right; he kneels before the Infant Jesus, his arms outstretched, having just presented to him the vase of flowers; he has curly dark hair; a large scarf passes over his left shoulder and is tied in a large knot on the right side, an end of it falling on the ground; in the foreground lie his bowl and cross of reeds. To the left of the Virgin one sees the head and shoulders of St. Anne. She is voluminously draped and turned three-quarters to right; she looks at the Madonna, her right arm folded across her breast under her mantle. To the right of the Virgin, the head and shoulders of Joseph, turned three-quarters left; he looks over the Madonna's left shoulder at the little St. John; he is slightly bald and wears a beard. All the figures except St. Joseph have haloes.

This altar-piece is ascribed to Pontormo but it is not by his hand, although in many details it betrays his influence. It comes from the Eszterházy bequest and belongs to a small group of unauthentic pictures the authorship of which presents a problem as yet unsolved.

Reprod. Photo. Hanfstaengl 268.

Oil on canvas. H. 1.26½, w. 1.01.

Bibl. *Az Országos képtár mütárgyainak, leiró lajstroma*, Budapest, 1904, p. 258; Gabriel de Térey, *Tableaux anciens du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Budapest*, Budapest, 1906, p. 39; *idem*, ed. 1910, p. 49.

CASSEL

Royal Gallery

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

He stands almost full face beside a table on which his right arm and hand rest holding his gloves; his head is turned three-quarters left, his eyes look at the spectator; his left arm slightly bent hangs at his side, his thumb in his low belt; brown eyes, thick short brown beard and moustache. His doublet of velvet (?) is covered with a light net-like pattern; at the shoulders, small puffs; the collar high and edged with a white ruff; sleeves, white. Around his waist, a narrow belt with a gold clasp; on his hip one sees an elaborately chased sword-hilt. He wears a small black cap with a white feather at the back. Background: lighter behind the figure than to the left.

Oil on canvas. H. 1.05, w. .78.

Formerly erroneously attributed to the Florentine School of the sixteenth century. Some critics have ascribed this portrait to Pontormo (Aubel, *Verzeichnis*, p. 4) of whose manner and touch it shows no trace. It has also been attributed, without reason, by Frizzoni to a Dutch master, by Bode to a Spanish painter, by other critics to Antonio Moro, and by still others to a French follower of Clouet. The most probable suggestion as to its authorship is due to Mary F. S. Hervey (art. cited below) who considers it to be a genuine example of the work of the Tudor painter, Gerlach Flicke. This attribution is followed by Lionel Cust who believes that it was painted after Flicke came under the influence of Clouet. The identity of the sitter has also been the subject of considerable discussion. Justi thinks that it is a

portrait of Garcilaso de la Vega. He finds that it resembles a portrait of the soldier-poet in Valentin Carderera's *Iconografía española* (Madrid, 1855 and 1864, pl. 73) which has for its prototype an oil painting once in the possession of the Oñate and later in that of Count de Valencia de Don Juan. Garcilaso was a knight of the Alcantara Order, the insignia of which is worn by the personage represented in both portraits. He was the second son of Garcilaso de la Vega, Comendador of Leon, Lord of los Arcos and Cuerva. Born in Toledo in 1503, he visited Italy, was present at the siege of Florence, was killed in battle in 1536 and buried in S. Pedro Martir at Toledo.

Reprod. Photo. Hanfstaengl; fig., *Burlington Magazine*, XIX, 238; *Die Meisterwerke der königl. Gemälde-galeric zu Cassel*, p. 43; article by Justi cited below.

Bibl. *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde in der königlichen Galerie zu Cassel*, 21st ed., Cassel, 1911, p. 38; *Katalog der königl. Gemälde-galerie zu Cassel*, p. 64; Mary F. S. Hervey, *Notes on a Tudor Painter: Gerlach Flicke, Burlington Magazine*, XVII (1910), 71-79; Lionel Cust, *On Two Portraits Attributed to Gerlach Flicke, Burlington Magazine*, XIX (1911), 239; Justi, *Ein Bildnis des Dichters Garcilaso de la Vega, Jahrbuch d. königl. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XIV (1893), 177-190.

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO

Pinacoteca Comunale

68. VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH TWO SAINTS

Bibl. *Catalogo della Pinacoteca comunale di Città di Castello*, Città di Castello, 1912, p. 7.

DIJON

Musée

PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE

Composition of nineteen figures. To the right, the Virgin with crossed hands climbs the temple stairs. Five steps lead to a stone terrace whence to the right other steps lead back to a slate-coloured arcade, decorated with arabesques and garlands, where the High Priest, his hands uplifted, stands. He is accompanied by four men; to his right, a draped man leans out of an arch; to the left of the arcade under another arch, three more men; below these, a slab inscribed: M Vc XXI. To the left and following the Virgin, three women, four men and a little dog. In the foreground right, two men who gaze at the Virgin; to the left, a crenelated gateway with towers through which we catch a glimpse of the country-side; further to the left, tower and arches of a smaller arcade.

Oil on wood. H. .96, w. .81.

In general conception and in certain details such as the form of the Virgin's hand and foot, the round flattish face of St. Elizabeth, the treatment of the group around the High Priest, the purplish grey colour of the arcade and the touch of landscape in the background, this picture reminds one of

Pontormo. It is however the work of a feeble and unknown imitator. Given to the Museum in 1822 by M. de Saint-Mesmin, the curator.

Condition: thoroughly repainted.
Date: 1521.
Bibl. *Catalogue du Musée de Dijon, Collection Trimolet, Dijon,* Dijon, 1883, p. 8.

DZIKOW

GALICIA

Tarnowski Collection

PORTRAIT OF AN ELDERLY LADY

Half-length; the torse nearly full face, the head turned three-quarters left, the eyes look at the spectator; her arm is bent at the elbow and one sees part of the ruff at the wrist. She wears a dark bodice cut square at the neck, revealing an open white lace chemisette with turned down collar; the sleeves have a puff at the shoulder. Around her neck, a string of pearls; her hair, parted in the middle, is brushed down smoothly on either side; she wears a close-fitting embroidered cap over which, at the top of the head, passes a string of pearls. Dark background.

Oil on wood. H. .25, w. .20.

Provenance unknown. Exhibited as a Bronzino in the Portrait Exhibition at the Hague in 1903 (No. 10a). Attributed by certain critics to an unknown Dutch master of the early seventeenth century; by others to Bronzino. Berenson believes it to be an example of Pontormo's later work in portraiture. The ear, eyes, and mouth are undoubtedly suggestive of certain characteristics of Jacopo's draughtsmanship, but the modelling of the face is unconvincing and seems to indicate a late restoration of so drastic a nature as to preclude the possibility of giving a final verdict on the authenticity of this panel.

Condition: much repainted; the panel seems to have been somewhat cut down.
Date: 1534-1545.
Reprod. Photo. Bruckmann 1904.
Bibl. Schulze, *Bronzino,* p. LXI; B. F. P. R., p. 174; C. Hofstede de Groot, *Meisterwerke der Porträtmalerei auf der Ausstellung im Haag,* München, 1903, p. 5.

ENGLEWOOD

NEW JERSEY

Platt Collection

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Head only; turned three-quarters right. He wears a dark hat and looks at the spectator. The colour is a misty grey with a suggestion in it of a subdued olive-green.

Oil on canvas.

Unfinished but very lightly and firmly painted. Originally attributed to Pontormo. The insistence on minor passages in the modelling and the obvious naturalism of the intention speak for Salviati to whom both Berenson and Mason Perkins have recently attributed this picture.

Condition: slightly rubbed and scratched but practically unharmed.

Reprod. Frontispiece, *Rassegna d'arte,* XI (1911).

Bibl. Mason Perkins, *Dipinti italiani nella raccolta Platt, Rassegna d'arte,* XI (1911), 3.

ERFURT

Städtisches Museum

32. VENUS AND CUPID

Bibl. *Katalog der Gemälde des städtischen Museums,* Erfurt, 1909, p. 8.

FLORENCE

Academy

183. PIETÀ

The Christ is seated on the ground profile right, the head and shoulders thrown back three-quarters right, his right arm extended at his side. Behind him, the Madonna seated full face, head turned three-quarters left; she looks at the Christ; her right hand supports his shoulders, her left is laid upon his left forearm. To the right the Magdalen kneels facing; her head turned three-quarters left looks at the Christ; her right hand is laid on his right knee, her left raised to her breast. In the background to the extreme left, the hill of Calvary with crosses and trees; to the right, a little town in a valley and a wooded hill; in the foreground, little plants. The drapery under Christ is a dark greyish green. The Madonna wears a red tunic of which one sees the sleeves and, over her head, a brown mantle at the edge of which there is a thread of gold. The Magdalen has light brown hair; her bodice is dark yellow, her skirt brown, her mantle bright red. The landscape is green and the distance dark blue.

Oil on wood. H. 1.15, w. 1.00.

Formerly, and in the catalogue of the gallery, ascribed to Bronzino. Vasari mentions (VII, 594) that "in Santa Trinita, pur di Firenze, si vede, di mano del medesimo (Bronzino), in un quadro a olio al primo pilastro a man ritta, un Cristo morto, la Nostra Donna, San Giovanni, et Santa Maria Madalena, condotti con bella maniera e molta diligenza." Richa (*Chiese fiorentine,* Lezione XI, p. 163) also speaks of a "Pietà" by Bronzino in the same church but he seems to imply that it was in fresco and near the sacristy. Milanesi states that the picture referred to by Vasari was removed to the Academy, and some critics, as well as the catalogue cited below, have identified it with the present panel, although to dispose of such a supposition, which is repeated by Cruttwell, we have only to notice that in our "Pietà" St. John does not appear. Berenson feels that we have here a Pontormo for which the

drawing Uffizi 6611 is, in his opinion, a study (B. F. D., I, 321; II, 147), but I am not convinced that any relation exists between the drawing and the picture. The latter does not, in fact, seem to me to be either by Pontormo or by Bronzino. The composition is clearly inspired by the "Pietà" ascribed to Andrea, in Vienna, although there the Madonna is attended by two angels and the Magdalen does not appear.

Condition: slightly damaged, especially in the upper right corner; darkened with old varnishes; retouched here and there; a vertical crack down the centre of the panel.

Date: probably not earlier than 1534 nor later than 1545.

Documents: A. S. F., Archivio mediceo, Classe 22, Vol. 33, c. 13 and 78 (February 11, 1564); *idem*, c. 13 and 76 (January 27, 1564). I cite these documents on the authority of Signor Giglioli who assures me that they refer to the present picture; I have been unable to examine them.

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 1418; Braun 42573.

Bibl. B. F. D., I, 321; II, 147; B. F. P. R., p. 174; Pieraccini, *Guida della R. Galleria*, p. 75; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries*, p. 264; *Dessins*, pp. 73, 185; Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. LXI.

Annunziata

ASSUMPTION

Milanesi in his chronological table of Andrea's work (V, 67) erroneously states that Pontormo finished this composition for the painting of which Andrea signed a contract on June 16, 1515. His error is repeated by Borenius (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Murray: London, 1914, VI, 177). The fresco is of course by Rosso.

Cappella di San Luca

HOLY TRINITY

Fresco.

Bocchi records that this work was designed by Pontormo and executed by Bronzino. He probably preserves in this statement some early tradition in regard to this fresco which does not, however, show any trace either of Pontormo's design or of Bronzino's touch.

Bibl. Bocchi, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

Baciocchi Collection

JOSEPH MADE OVERSEER IN EGYPT

Ascribed to Pontormo but showing no trace of his hand. This panel is a modified copy of part of Andrea's panel of "Joseph in Egypt," now in the Pitti.

ATTRIBUTED PICTURES

Casa Buonarotti

60. PORTRAIT OF VITTORIA COLONNA

Bust figure turned three-quarters left; the eyes look down; golden hair bound with a reddish violet ribbon; grey-green dress; black background.

Oil on tile. H. .49, w. .31.

Schulze considers this to be an idealized likeness of Michelangelo's famous friend and an authentic Pontormo. It is, however, erroneously described as a portrait of Vittoria Colonna and falsely ascribed to Jacopo, whose modelling and colour it in no way suggests. Of it D'Achiardi says: "Non ha nessun carattere di seria attendibilità iconografica." Cf. the portrait by Muziano, Galleria Colonna, Rome (D' Achiardi, *op. cit. infra,* fig. 39); that noticed by Campanari (*Ritratto di Vittoria Colonna dipinto da Michelangelo,* Londra, Molini, 1853) which is probably a Venusti; and that in the Uffizi (photo. Alinari), perhaps a copy of a more celebrated original. Another portrait, said to be of Vittoria Colonna and ascribed to Pontormo, was sold at the De Beurnonville sale in 1881. Its whereabouts is unknown to me.

Condition: surface badly cracked and entirely repainted.

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 4565; fig., article by Schulze cited below; article by Néoustroieff cited below, pl. 54, fig. 4.

Bibl. Vasari, ed. Gronau, V, 114; Frey, *Dichtungen,* p. 385; Thode, *Michelangelo,* II, 364; D'Achiardi, *Sebastiano del Piombo,* pp. 200-204; Steinmann, *Sixtinische Kapelle,* II, 506; Schulze, *Die Bildnisse der Vittoria Colonna, Monatshefte f. Kunstwissenschaft,* 1910, pp. 239-241; Cruttwell, *Florentine Churches,* p. 61; Néoustroieff, *Quadri italiani nella collezione von Leuchtenberg, L' Arte,* VI (1903), pp. 330-332.

Cenacolo di Foligno

117. MADONNA AND CHILD

H. 1.20, w. 1.00.

Formerly in the Galleria Ferroni. This is a poor copy of the lost "Madonna" by Pontormo of which the picture in the Alte Pinakothek, in Munich, is the best known replica. The background in the present copy has been slightly modified. Cf. in this catalogue, under Berlin, Boston, Castello, Hampton Court, London, Munich and Oxford.

Reprod. Photo. Brogi 17571 (as a Pontormo).

Chiesa delle Stigmate

PIETÀ

The Christ lies on a white cloth, his feet to the right. The Virgin wears a deep blue mantle and, about her head, a yellow scarf. At the feet of Christ, two weeping angels. in the background to the right, the hill of Calvary and two small figures.

Tentatively ascribed to Pontormo. This picture really dates from the very end of the sixteenth century.

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 31039 (as Pontormo?).

Loeser Collection

PORTRAIT OF THE POET LUDOVICO MARTELLI

Three-quarters length, seated. His right arm rests on a table and in his right hand he holds a sheet of paper. In his left hand, which rests on his knee, he holds a pair of gloves. On the table, an ink-pot, papers, and sprigs of laurel.

Oil on wood. H. .87, w. .73.

Ascribed to Pontormo. A replica, the whereabouts of which is unknown, is said to have existed in the Palazzo Strozzi.

Condition: excellent.

A SIBYL

Bust figure; her shoulders nearly profile right. Her head, seen nearly full face, looks at the spectator. In her hand, an open roll of parchment.

Oil on wood. H. .66, w. .52½.

I saw this and the preceding picture somewhat fugitively some years ago before I felt that I could say definitely whether the attribution to Pontormo seemed to me justified. Unfortunately I have been unable to re-examine them. I owe the details that I give to the courtesy of the owner and of Signor Gino Sensani.

Condition: good.

Palazzo Corsini

17. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Half-length; seated at a table and turned three-quarters left; looks at spectator. He has a reddish brown beard, brown hair and eyes. He wears a black hat, black doublet with slashed sleeves. An account-book lies on the table before him, the middle fingers of his left hand between the leaves. On the little finger of the same hand he wears a ring. In his right hand he holds a quill pen with which he has just been writing. On the open pages of the book one sees writing which is indecipherable. The flesh-tones are brickish red, the background, greenish grey.

Oil on wood. H. .94, w. .74.

Ascribed to Pontormo, but neither the colouring, the modelling, nor the morphology of the figure are his. A copy of this portrait, identical in size, passed from the Lanfranconi Collection, which was sold in Cologne in 1895,

into the Sedelmeyer Collection. See in this catalogue, under the collections in question.

Condition: darkened with successive varnishings; a crack down the centre of the panel between the boards.

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 4198.

Bibl. Uld. Medici, *Catalogo della Galleria dei Principi Corsini in Firenze*, Firenze, Mariani, 1880.

163. MADONNA AND LITTLE ST. JOHN

The Madonna kneels profile right, the Christ Child between her knees; St. John stands to her right, seen three-quarters from behind. The Virgin is dressed in a purplish pink robe with white drapery on the shoulder and yellow foresleeves. St. John wears a brown loin-cloth. All three have light brown hair. The background is a grey-green piece of furniture.

Oil on canvas. H. 1.32, w. 1.06.

Erroneously ascribed to Jacopo; not cited by Berenson. The heavy colour suggests Empoli. The composition is perhaps derived from a lost original of Pontormo's.

Bibl. See above.

Palazzo Pitti

113. THE THREE FATES

This panel, which was originally attributed to Michelangelo, has been ascribed to Pontormo by Jacobsen and by Fabriczy. It is, of course, by Rosso.

Bibl. Jacobsen, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1898, fasc. 5; *L'Arte*, 1899, p. 228; B. F. P. R., p. 180.

149. PORTRAIT OF GUIDOBALDO DELLA ROVERE, DUKE OF URBINO

Three-quarter length; he stands turned three-quarters left, his head nearly full face, his right hand rests on a helmet placed on a table to the left, his left on the neck of a large white dog of which one sees the head in the lower right corner. He has black hair and beard and wears a suit of steel armour elaborately inlaid with silver, red hose embroidered with gold, a black sword-belt and sword of which one sees the chased gold hilt; at his wrists, white ruches embroidered with black. The background is a green curtain.

Oil on wood. H. 1.14, w. .86.

The colour is cold and the drawing somewhat stiff. Long believed to be Pontormo's portrait of Ippolito de' Medici with his dog Rodon, which Vasari (VI, 273) mentions as the companion piece to Jacopo's lost portrait of Alessandro. Cruttwell follows the traditional attribution as does Berenson, although he places after it, in his later editions, a point of interrogation.

Milanesi (VI, 274) indicated some of the difficulties involved in the inscription that one reads on the red cloth that covers the table: ANNUM AGEBAT DECIMUM OCTAVVM. Ippolito was born on April 19, 1511, and the portrait would, therefore, date from 1529, if we assume that it represents Ippolito and the inscription refers to the sitter's age. But Ippolito fled from Florence in 1527. The picture must, accordingly, have been painted in Rome in spite of the fact that we have every reason to believe that Pontormo was in Florence between 1527 and 1530. Justi has written at length about this panel. He believes it to be Bronzino's portrait of Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, and his argument is as follows: The person represented does not resemble Titian's well-known and perfectly authenticated portrait of Ippolito, which was painted in Bologna in 1532 (Pitti, No. 201). Ippolito cannot have been in Florence after the flight of Passerini in 1527; it is unlikely that Pontormo would have gone to Rome between 1527 and 1530 when all artists had fled from the city to escape the fury of pillaging soldiers. Guidobaldo of Urbino was born in 1514, became duke in 1538, died in 1574. Bronzino left Florence for Pesaro on August 2, 1530, and while in the latter place he painted, for the Duke of Urbino, a portrait of the daughter of Matteo Sofferoni, a harpsichord and, in the Villa Imperiale, certain figures in a vaulting, the success of which induced Guidobaldo to order his own portrait. The Duke was eighteen between April 2, 1531, and 1532 — a fact that coincides with the inscription on our panel: Annum agebat decimum octavvm. Such armour as the Duke wears could have been made only in Milan, and it is interesting to note that Vasari claims that Bronzino spent a long time over the portrait because Guidobaldo wished to pose in a suit of armour that he had ordered in Lombardy, the arrival of which was constantly delayed (VI, 276). On the back of the panel, painted in oil, we find the letters D. G. B., which may stand for Duca Guido Baldo. The smooth cold flesh-tints recall Bronzino's other work in portraiture; the hands are not Jacopo's. Vasari says that Pontormo's portrait of Ippolito was in "sua maniera tedesca," and the present panel shows no trace of the influence of Dürer. Signor Giglioli has pointed out to me that since the portrait has been cleaned the chill shade of green so much used by Bronzino has been revealed and that, moreover, this portrait seems to have come from the Urbino Collection. In the list of the pictures now in the Pitti having that provenance is: "Il Duca armato con mano sopra la testa di un cane di mano di Zuccaro" — a description that corresponds to our portrait. The attribution to Zuccaro may be explained by the fact that he was well known in Pesaro for he came from the neighbouring town of Sant' Angelo in Vado and had worked in Pesaro for fifteen years, while Bronzino was there only a few months. Federigo Badoer (1547) states that Guido was strong, thick-set, and melancholy — a description that might well be applied to the personage represented in our portrait. Guido understood Greek. On the helmet is inscribed:

ΩΔΕΣΤΑΙΔΗΘ

ΩΣΑΪΔΟΝΤΟ

ΒΟΥΛΗΜΑ

(ὧδ' ἔσται δηθ' ὡς εἶλον τὸ βούλημα)

Later in life he was governatore generale delle armi venete in Verona. Signor Giglioli notes that another half-length portrait of Guidobaldo is preserved in the Palazzo Albani at Urbino in which he wears a beard and places his hand on the head of a dog. On an envelope that he holds: "All' Illmo et Eccmo Sigre Il Signore Guidobaldo duca d'Urbino." The portrait ascribed to Pontormo, once in the collection of the Rev. E. H. Dawkins, Morhanger House, near Surrey, Bedfordshire, and sold at Christie's on February 28, 1913, for £23 2*s.*, would seem to have been a copy of our portrait with which it was identical in size. Cf. in Catalogue of Sales, under Dawkins.

Condition: recently cleaned and restored.

Date: 1531-1532.

Document. See above.

Reprod. Copy (?) once in the Dawkins Collection; engraving, Luigi Bardi, *Galleria Pitti*, VI, 273; photo. Braun 42149; Alinari; Brogi 6004; fig., article by Justi cited below; woodcut, Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, 2e partie, Paris, 1892, p. 201.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 276; VII, 595; Chiavacci, *Guida della R. Galleria del Palazzo Pitti*, 3d ed., Firenze, 1864, p. 74; *idem*, French ed., p. 190; B. F. P. R., p. 174; Justi, *Zeitschrift f. bildende Kunst*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 34-40; Fabriczy, *L'Arte*, I (1898), 475; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries*, p. 182; Giglioli, *Rivista d' arte*, 1909, p. 339-340; Thode, *Jahrbuch d. königl. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, 1888; Schulze, *Bronzino*, XII.

Palazzo Vecchio

Cappella Leone X

PORTRAIT OF COSIMO IL VECCHIO AS ST. COSMAS

Full-length, turned three-quarters left, head profile left. He holds a richly bound green leather folio tooled with gold, from between the leaves of which a little palm of martyrdom stands up; he wears a scarlet cap, deep pink mantle lined with a lighter pink, and red slippers; his legs are bare. The background is a dark greenish grey decorated with a pattern of leaves; the floor is brownish green.

Oil on wood. H. 1.72, w. .59.

Brought from the Guardaroba in 1861; formerly in the Uffizi (No. 1267) and ascribed to Pontormo — attribution retained by Morelli, Berenson, Cruttwell, Trapesnikoff and De Vere. This panel and the following were however, according to his own testimony (VII, 699), executed by Vasari for the Chapel of Leo X, in the Palazzo Vecchio, on the altar of which Raphael's "Madonna dell' Impannata" formerly stood. The head of the present portrait is a copy of Pontormo's "Portrait of Cosimo," once at San Marco and now in the Uffizi.

The Chapel of Leo has been reconstrueted and this panel and its eompanion pieee have found their original plaees again beside a eopy of the "Impannata."

Condition: darkened and retouched here and there.

Date: about 1560.

Reprod. Photo. Braun 41267; Brogi 11032.

Bibl. Vasari, IV, 351; VII, 699; *Catalogue de la R. Galerie de Florence,* Florence, 1864, p. 150; *Rivista d'arte,* VI (1909), 263 f.; B. F. P. R., p. 175; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries,* p. 84; Morelli, *Doria Pamfili Galleries,* p. 130; Trapesnikoff, *Die Porträtdarstellungen,* p. 21; Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio,* p. 172.

PORTRAIT OF COSIMO I AS ST. DAMIAN

Full-length, turned three-quarters right; weight on the right leg; the head turned nearly three-quarters left. His hair and beard are almost black; with his left hand he holds, against his side, a richly bound book from between the leaves of which a little palm of martyrdom stands up; his right arm is bent at the elbow; his forefinger points in front of him; he wears a deep pink mantle which reaches to the ground, a doublet of dimmer red, red stockings and dark red shoes. The background is greyish green, the floor brownish green.

Oil on wood. H. 1.72, w. .59.

Cf. the preeeding of whieh the present panel is a pendant. Once Uffizi, No. 1270.

Condition: practically untouched though darkened with varnish.

Date: about 1560.

Reprod. Photo. Braun 41270; Brogi 11031; fig., Vasari, trans. de Vere, VII, 152.

Bibl. See the preceding.

Ufficio delle Belle Arti

MADONNA AND LITTLE ST. JOHN

Oil on wood. H. .38, w. .39.

This panel, which is preserved as having once formed part of the deeoration of the Carro della Zeeca, is entirely foreign to the work of Pontormo.

Condition: disastrously repainted.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

Santa Croce

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH TWO FRANCISCAN SAINTS

The Virgin wears a red robe and blue mantle; the saint that holds an open book, a red mantle; the friar, a brown robe.

Lunette in fresco.

This lunette has not the slightest eonnection with the work of Pontormo.

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 3880 (as Pontormo).

ATTRIBUTED PICTURES

San Lorenzo

ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

The Virgin is dressed in a pink robe and blue mantle. The kneeling figure in the foreground wears a green robe and red mantle; St. Peter, a green robe and yellow mantle.

Erroneously ascribed to Pontormo. This is the work of an exceedingly mediocre imitator of Andrea del Sarto of whose "Assumption" in the Pitti the composition is a travesty.

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 31074 (as Pontormo).

San Proculo

MADONNA AND CHILD

On one side of the Virgin, St. Anthony, on the other, Santa Barbara.

Once in the chapel of the Niccolini, next to the third altar on the right side of the church. Falsely ascribed to Pontormo by Richa (I, 238). Cf. Bocchi, ed. Cinelli, p. 388.

Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN, ST. BERNARD AND OTHER SAINTS

In the chapel of the Da Romena family. Cinelli erroneously attributes this work to Pontormo. It was painted by Puligo in 1525 (Vasari, IV, 466).

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 31089 (as Pontormo).

Bibl. Bocchi, ed. Cinelli, p. 486; Richa, I, 323; Fantozzi, p. 293; Fabriczy, *Memorie sulla chiesa di S. M. Maddalena de' Pazzi in Firenze, L'Arte,* IX (1906), p. 258, notes 10, 11 and 14.

Uffizi

1196. EXPULSION FROM PARADISE

In the centre, Adam and Eve, their legs turned three-quarters left, their torses seen in profile, their heads thrown back and seen three-quarters left; behind them on the right, the serpent with a human head coiled around a bare tree trunk; to the left, the trunks of two other trees; above them an angel, in a mist of light and seen from behind, brandishes with his right hand a naked sword. The general tone is olive-green, the flesh-tints deepen to pink on faces, hands, knees, and feet.

Oil on wood. H. .41, w. .29.

Ascribed to Pontormo; not mentioned by Vasari; not cited by Berenson. This panel is not authentic, although the Adam has a certain resemblance to various horsemen of the central group of the "Martyrdom of St. Maurice," Pitti, No. 182.

Condition: fair; rubbed here and there.

Reprod. Photo. F. M. C.

Bibl. *Catalogue de la R. Galerie de Florence,* Florence, 1864, p. 139; Goldschmidt, *op. cit.,* p. 46.

1249. JOSEPH LED AWAY TO PRISON

In the foreground, Joseph escorted by five soldiers; to the right, three figures one of which has his back turned; in the background, a palace with steps, "loggia," and terrace on which many soldiers are visible; to the left, a pillar surmounted by a statue beyond which a city and far-off hills; to the extreme left, a building partly ruined.

Oil on wood. H. 1.30, w. .93.

This panel and the following were long ascribed to Pontormo. They were painted for the bridal chamber of Pierfrancesco Borgherini. Müntz repeats the attribution to Jacopo as does the second edition of the *Cicerone.* Ulmann was the first to point out that they are characteristic works of Granacci, and Berenson has showed that in the drawings mentioned below we have part of the preparatory material for these panels.

Condition: good.

Date: about 1518.

Drawings: Uffizi 347 F. and 349 F.

Document: A. S. F., Depositeria Generale, filza 995.

Reprod. Photo. Braun 41249; Brogi 11034; *Galleria di Firenze illustrata,* II, pl. L; fig., Müntz, *Renaissance,* p. 105; Schubring, *Cassoni,* pl. CLXXIV.

Bibl. Vasari, V, 343; VI, 262, n.; B. F. P. R., p. 144; B. F. D., I, 123; II, 53; catalogue cited above, p. 146; Molini, *Galleria di Firenze,* 1819, II, 5; *Cicerone,* 2d ed. III, 981; Müntz, *Renaissance,* III, 499; Ulmann, *Piero di Cosimo, Jahrbuch d. königl preuss. Samml.,* XVII (1896), 51; *Dessins,* p. 51, n. 2; Cruttwell, *Florentine Galleries* pp. 20 f.; Schubring, *Cassoni,* p. 403.

1282. JOSEPH PRESENTING JACOB TO PHARAOH

The scene takes place in a great open piazza; to the left, a Florentine palace; to the right, the end of a "loggia"; in the background, an octagonal building. To the left Pharaoh with his retinue and soldiers, Joseph and Jacob kneeling with his sons; to the right, a group of five spectators; to the extreme right, two men with their backs turned and a boy who is seen profile left. In the middle distance and beyond, many groups of little figures.

Oil on wood. H. 1.22, w. .93.

Cf. the preceding.

Condition: excellent.

Reprod. Photo. Braun 41282; Brogi 6220; *Galleria di Firenze illustrata,* II, pl. LII Schubring, *op. cit.,* pl. CLXXII.

Bibl. See above and Molini, *op. cit.,* II, 11; catalogue cited above, p. 153.

ATTRIBUTED PICTURES

LEDA AND THE SWAN

Leda stands facing in the middle of the picture, her arms outspread, her right hand on the swan's wing, her head three-quarters left; from her left shoulder a ribbon-like scarf hangs across her body, the end in her right hand; behind her the swan turned three-quarters left, wings outspread, head raised gazing at Leda. To the left, a child lies on the ground, a great broken egg for its pillow; behind it, another child carrying a drapery. To the right two children stand embraced; before them on the ground, a broken egg. In the background to the left, a hill crowned with a grove; to the right, a rugged peak seen beyond broken hills.

Oil on wood.

Once in the granducal collection at Lucca. Ascribed to Pontormo; not mentioned by Vasari; not cited by Berenson. This little panel does not reveal Jacopo's touch, although it shows traces of his influence. Goldschmidt erroneously considers it to be an early work. Leonardo's "Leda" from which this picture is derived has been lost. It probably existed only as a cartoon and perhaps in two versions, one of which may have represented Leda alone and the other, the two children. The "Anonimo Fiorentino" merely mentions the "Leda," but Lomazzo in his *Idea del Tempio* states that it existed at Fontainebleau (1591) and describes it as one of Leonardo's few finished works. Cassiano del Pozzo also saw a "Leda" ascribed to Leonardo at Fontainebleau in 1625 and mentions the twins as part of the composition, although there is nothing to show that the picture of which he speaks was not a pupil's copy executed at Milan under Leonardo's supervision from his original cartoon. The following are well known studies for or copies of the original composition: Leonardo's sketch in Codice Atlantico; his study for the hair, in Windsor; Raphael's sketch, also in Windsor; the picture in the Borghese (No. 434); that once in the Hastings and later in the Doetsch Collection; that at Wilton House; that in the Johnson Collection; in the Ruble Collection; in the Oppler Collection; that by Franciabigio, in the Museum of Brussels (No. 415), which is a free paraphrase and seems to have been executed before 1518. Similar pictures have existed and, in some cases, still exist in the collections of the Prince of Lichtenstein, M. de Rothschild, Queen Christina of Sweden, the Duc d'Orléans and in the Uffizi, Somzée, and Schweitzer Collections.

Condition: fair; cracked across the centre vertically and horizontally and repaired.

Date: 1515-1525.

Reprod. Photo. Brogi 14762; Eug. Lasinio, *R. Galleria di Firenze illust.*, Firenze, 1828, III, 46.

Bibl. Catalogue cited above, p. 132; Molini, *op. cit.*, III, 46; *Galleria di Firenze*, Società Editrice, 1839; *Cicerone*, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1874; III, 981; Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 46. For existing copies of Leonardo's work, see *Kunstkritische Studien, Die Galerie Borghese*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 196; Müller-Walde, *Jahrbuch d. königl. preuss. Samml.*, XVII (1897), 137; Müntz, *The Leda of Leonardo da Vinci*, Athenæum, II (1898), 393 and *Léonard de Vinci*, Paris, 1899, p. 424; *La chronique des arts*, October 2, 1897; August 20, and September 3, 1898; Frizzoni, *Arch. storico dell' arte*, 1896, p. 400.

PONTORMO

FONTAINEBLEAU

GASTON DE FOIX

An early inventory of Fontainebleau mentions "dans la Salle des Bains: un Gaston de Foix du Pontormo." Nothing further is known of this work.

Bibl. Dimier, *Primatice*, p. 282.

FUCECCHIO

Arcipretura di San Giovanni Battista

MADONNA AND FOUR SAINTS. ABOVE: THE BAPTISM AND TWO ANGELS

Erroneously ascribed to Pontormo. This altar-piece seems to have been patched together from two unrelated pictures. It is the work of some provincial artist, perhaps of Umbrian origin, who had studied Perugino, Michelangelo and Andrea del Sarto.

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 19283 (as Pontormo).

GENOA

Palazzo Brignole-Sale

PORTRAIT OF A MAN IN RED WITH A SWORD

Ascribed to Pontormo by Berenson. I do not know of any collection in a Palazzo Brignole-Sale in Genoa other than the collections of Palazzo Bianco and of Palazzo Rosso. In neither of these galleries have I been able to find this portrait.

Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 175.

HAMPTON COURT

139 (282). MADONNA AND CHILD

Figures less than life-size. The Virgin is seen full-length facing and slightly inclined to the left; her left hand supports the back of the Child, her right turns his face to her own; she wears a turban-shaped head-dress.

Oil on wood. H. 1 ft. 10 in., w. 1 ft. 5 in.

Ascribed to Andrea; by certain critics to Pontormo. This picture is apparently an old copy of the panel in the collection of the Earl of Northbrook, which is ascribed to Andrea by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but has recently been given to Puligo. Another replica, falsely ascribed to Pontormo, may be seen at Alnwick Castle. The present panel may be the "Mary and Child by Andrew del Sarto," valued by the Commonwealth at £40 and, on December 3, 1649, sold to Mr. Rhemy van Leemput for £50 (Commonwealth Inventory, fol. 212).

Bibl. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, III, 514.

193 (249). MADONNA AND CHILD

Erroneously ascribed to Bronzino. This is a late Florentine partial copy of the composition, probably derived from an original by Pontormo, which is known in numerous renderings of various dates. See in this division of the Catalogue Raisonné, under Berlin; Boston; Castello; Florence, Cenacolo di Foligno; London, Cook Collection; Munich; Oxford. The present panel was painted, it would seem, in the "bottega" of Allori.

Oil on wood. H. 4 ft., w. 3 ft.

Bibl. *Catalogue of the Collection of Hampton Court,* p. 93; Law, *New Authorized Historical Catalogue of the Pictures and Tapestries at Hampton Court,* London, 1911, p. 64.

300 (463). VENUS AND CUPID

A copy of Pontormo's "Venus and Cupid" of which the Uffizi panel is probably his original.

Oil on wood. H. 4 ft., 3 in., w. 6 ft., 5 in.

Hard, cold and dry. Although thought by Law to be a Bronzino, it is more probably only a product of his "bottega." Brought to England in 1734 and exhibited at Essex House, Essex St., Strand. It was then advertised to be disposed of in a raffle, the tickets of which were to be ten guineas each. The raffle did not take place, but the King bought it for Queen Charlotte for £1000. The engraved tickets of the exhibition contained an elaborate description of the picture and an attestation of its genuineness as a work of Michelangelo signed by three connoisseurs; at the bottom of the tickets there was an etching of the picture (cf. Mrs. Jameson's *Royal Galleries*). Duppa engraved it in his *Life of Michael Angelo* (1806) and states that it came from the collection of the Bettini family. Thode conjectures, apparently without evidence, that it is the same picture as that mentioned in the *Heidelberg Inventory.* Exhibited in Manchester (Art Treasures, No. 170) in 1857 in connection with which exhibition W. Burger (*Trésors d'art en Angleterre,* Bruxelles, 1860, p. 43) speaks of it as a masterpiece and one of the finest

paintings (!) in Hampton Court. Hogarth satirized it in his *Analysis of Beauty*. Law gives the number of this picture as 420.

Bibl. Law, *Royal Gallery of Hampton Court, London*, p. 110; Graves, *Loan Exhibitions*, II, 942; Law, *New Authorized Historical Catalogue of Hampton Court*, p. 99.

740. VENUS AND CUPID

Venus lies on a white drapery. There are two doves, two roses and an apple in the lower right corner.

Oil on wood. H. 5 ft. 2 in., w. 7 ft. 3 in.

A late and inferior variant of the same composition as No. 300 of this collection. Once in the collection of James II (No. 996). Law gives the number of this picture as 707.

Bibl. Law, catalogue cited above, p. 180; *idem, New Authorized Historical Catalogue*, p. 129.

HILDESHEIM

Museum

VENUS AND CUPID

A copy of the composition best known by the example, probably by Pontormo himself, now in the Uffizi (No. 1284). This picture was brought, in 1884, from the Berlin Gallery to which it had been taken in 1841. It is the same "Venus" that was once in the collection of Professor d'Alton of Bonn, where it was erroneously ascribed to Pontormo by Kugler.

Bibl. *Verzeichniss der abgegebenen Gemälde*, 1886, No. 233; A. W. von Schlegel, *Verzeichniss von d' Altons Gemäldesammlung*, 1840; Kugler, *Kunstblatt*, 1842, p. 42; *Kleine Schriften*, II, 358.

LONDON

Collection of Sir Frederick Cook

42. MADONNA AND CHILD

The Virgin, in green tunic with green sleeves, pink robe, blue mantle and headdress, is seated on the ground. Her right hand rests on an open book, her left clasps the naked Infant Christ who kneels clinging to her. Behind and to the right, St. Joseph at work, speaking to the little St. John and St. Elizabeth. Buildings in the background.

Canvas. H. 1.268, w. 1.016.

At St. Paul's Churchyard. This is a copy of the composition best known in the version now in the Pinakothek at Munich (No. 1090). Other renderings

by various hands may be seen in the Boston Museum; in the Royal Villa at Castello, near Florence; in the Cenacolo di Foligno, Ferroni Collection, Florence (No. 117); at Hampton Court (No. 193-249); in the collection of Mr. Vernon Watney at Cornbury Park, Oxford; in a private collection in Berlin.

Reprod. Photo. Gray 31563.

Bibl. *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond, and elsewhere in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook,* 1913, I, p. 47.

Collection of the Earl of Northbrook

211 (39). PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Bust figure turned three-quarters left. He has long hair and dark eyes and wears a three-cornered hat and a black coat lined with fur. Green background.

Oil on wood. H. 19½ in., w. 15½ in.

Originally in Palazzo Riccardi at Florence; later in the Le Brun and Baring Collections. Exhibited at the British Institution, 1824, No. 21; 1840, No. 68. Once supposed to be a member of the Medici family and by Raphael. Ascribed by Frizzoni and by Waagen to Andrea, by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Pontormo or Puligo. It is not by Jacopo and it seems too hard for Puligo.

Reprod. Catalogue cited below facing page 158.

Bibl. Buchanan, II, 254; Waagen, *Art Treasures,* II, 176; *idem, Arts and Artists,* III, 35; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, III, 512; ed. Borenius, VI, 201; *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of the Earl of Northbrook,* London, 1889, p. 158.

MADONNA AND CHILD

The Virgin, dressed in crimson with a pink kerchief, stands, a half-length figure. The Christ Child is seated on a white cushion on a balustrade. She raises his face with her left hand.

Oil on wood. H. 24 in., w. 18½ in.

From the Gray, Buchanan and Baring Collections. Ascribed to Andrea; by certain critics to Pontormo; by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Puligo, but none of these attributions is satisfactory. Replicas at Alnwick Castle and, with modified colouring, at Hampton Court (No. 282).

Bibl. Catalogue cited above, p. 157; Waagen, *op. cit.,* II, 175; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. 1864-1866, III, 584; ed. Borenius, VI, 201.

Collection of the Earl of Plymouth

PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH

Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 176.

National Gallery

649. PORTRAIT OF A BOY

Full-length; he stands turned slightly to the right, the weight on left leg, the right knee slightly bent, the head turned three-quarters right; he looks at the spectator; his right hand rests on his hip, his left holds lightly the pommel of his sword. He is dressed in doublet, trunk-hose gaged and puffed, a broad, richly ornamented belt, stockings and slippers; he also wears a short velvet coat embroidered at the edges on the sleeves and around the cuffs; at the throat and wrists, lace ruffs. The sleeve is slashed and ornamented with embroidered triangles. He wears a dark Florentine cap trimmed, on the left and in front, with jewelled ornaments and, on the right, with a large puffy feather. The background is a striped curtain, dark in the centre with two light vertical bands at either side and dark edges; it has many horizontal creases; the fringe is short and alternately black and light.

Oil on wood. H. 4 ft. 2½ in., w. 2 ft.

Formerly in the collection of the Duke of Brunswick; purchased in Paris in 1860 from M. Edmond Beaucousin. Once erroneously believed to be a Pontormo — an attribution that Müntz repeats. Ascribed to Bronzino by Frizzoni and Berenson; by others, including Richter, to Salviati, neither of which ascriptions is justified or satisfactory.

Reprod. Photo. Bruckmann; Braun 30649; fig., Poynter, *National Gallery*, p. 70; Leman Hare, *National Gallery in Colour*, London, 1909, XIX, p. 72.

Bibl. Wornum, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery*, London, 1875, p. 223; Frizzoni, *Arte italiana del rinascimento*, 1891, pp. 266 f.; Poynter, *National Gallery*, p. 70; Cook, *Handbook*, I, 22; *Descriptive Catalogue of National Gallery*, 1906, p. 87; Richter, *Art of the National Gallery*, p. 45; Müntz, *Renaissance*, III, 499.

790. ENTOMBMENT

Ascribed by most critics, including Frizzoni and Berenson, to Michelangelo; by others, to Bugiardini; by Symonds and still others, to Pontormo with whose work it has no connection. This picture was once in the Fesch Collection and its subsequent history is well known.

Bibl. Thode, *Krit. Unters.*, II, 483-488; Frizzoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 263 f.; Poynter, *op. cit.*, I, 72; Cook, *op. cit.*, I, 14-16; Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

1048. PORTRAIT OF A CARDINAL

Three-quarter length. He is seated facing and wears a rose-coloured silk hood with a white collar and a scarlet hat.

Copper. H. .95, w. .71.

Purchased in Florence from Mr. Campbell Spence in 1879. Once erroneously attributed to Pontormo but now ascribed to Scipione Pulzone.

Two other portraits of the same personage survive, one in the Corsini Gallery, Rome, one in Chantilly.

Reprod. Woodcut, Reinach, *Répertoire,* III, 370.

Bibl. *Catalogue of the National Gallery,* 1913, p. 569. Cf. F.-A. Gruyer, *La peinture à Chantilly, Écoles étrangères,* p. 125.

1150. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Bust figure turned three-quarters right; dark brown hair that falls over his ears, a short moustache and short thick beard; flesh-tones, a reddish brown; black coat with white ruche at neck and white frill at wrist of left hand which is raised; black gown; black cap; in his right hand, a purse or document; on the little finger of left hand, a small ring; on first finger of right hand, another; background, light brown.

Oil on wood. H. 25 in., w. 19½ in.

Falsely ascribed to Pontormo. Purchased at Florence, of Mr. C. Fairfax Murray, in 1883.

Reprod. Poynter, *op. cit.,* II, p. 99.

Bibl. Poynter, *loc. cit.,* p. 98; *Descriptive Catalogue,* 1906, p. 457; *idem,* ed. 1913, pp. 554 f.

LYONS

Musée

161. SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

Oil on wood; life-size.

A replica of Andrea's picture, now in Dresden. The present panel was carried away from Holland by Napoleon and given, in 1811, to the Lyons Museum. Crowe and Cavalcaselle found the execution less agreeable than that of Andrea's altar-piece, the nude poorly rendered, the colour lacking in transparency. They believed, I think without reason, that the author may have been Pontormo.

Bibl. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, III, 507; De Ris, *Les Musées de Province,* II, 377.

MADRID

Museo Nacional

340. HOLY FAMILY

The Virgin looks down at the Christ Child who lies asleep in a fold of her mantle. To the right, St. John; beside the Virgin, St. Joseph also asleep.

Oil on wood. H. 1.30, w. 1.00.

Once in the collection of Doña Isabel Farnesio, Palacio de San Ildef. Attributed to Pontormo but, as Morelli recognized long ago, it shows no trace of the master's hand.

Reprod. Photo. Braun 50340.

Bibl. *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo nacional de pintura y escultura,* Don Pedro de Madrazo, ampliado por D. Salvador Viniegra, novena edición, Madrid, 1904, p. 48; *idem,* 10th ed., 1910, p. 54; French ed., 1913, p. 61; *Appunti del senatore Giov. Morelli a proposito della Galleria del Prado, Archivio storico dell' arte,* VII (1894), 65.

385. MADONNA AND CHILD

The Child stands erect on the lap of the Madonna who raises her veil. To the left, an archangel holding a book crouches on the steps of the Virgin's seat; to the right St. Joseph seated on the ground; in the middle ground, St. Elizabeth leads the young St. John; the background, a landscape. At St. Joseph's feet, Andrea's monogram.

Oil on wood.

Ascribed to Andrea; believed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to show in the drawing and colour the hand of Pontormo. Not mentioned by Berenson. I have not seen this picture. Hutton mentions several replicas: a damaged school copy (oil on wood), at Dudley House; a later copy by a clever imitator of Del Sarto in the collection of Mr. Holford in London; another of later date on canvas, without signature, at Ince, near Liverpool.

Condition: damaged.

Bibl. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, III, 510.

MILAN

Collection of Prince Trivulzio

PORTRAIT OF A RINUCCINI LADY

Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 176.

MONTPELLIER

Musée Fabre

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

Bust figure turned three-quarters left, the head nearly full face; he holds his mantle with his right hand; his hair falls almost to his shoulders; he wears a white shirt and a black vest.

Oil. H. .61, w. .51.

Originally attributed by Fabre and Canova to Raphael; by certain critics to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio; by others to Francia. Others have thought that they could detect here the hand of Pontormo. Their opinion need no longer complicate the problem of the authorship of this portrait which, as Berenson has clearly demonstrated, is a Brescianino.

Reprod. Engraving by Dimier, article by Gonse cited below; fig., article by Berenson cited below.

Bibl. *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France, Province, Monuments civils,* Paris, 1878, I, 247; Gonse, *Le portrait d'homme du Musée de Montpellier, Gazette des beaux-arts,* 2e série, XII, 114 ff.; Renouvier, *Musée de Montpellier, Gazette des beaux-arts,* V, 8; Passavant, *Raphaël,* trad. fran., 1860, 88, 367; Berenson, *Le portrait Raphaëlesque de Montpellier, Gazette des beaux-arts,* XLIX (1907), 208 ff.

MUNICH

Alte Pinakothek

1090. MADONNA AND CHILD

The Virgin is seated on the ground full face, her knees turned to the left; she wears a bright red tunic with dark green sleeves, a purplish scarf over her hair and a dark blue mantle. Her right hand is laid on the top of an open book on which one reads in the midst of indecipherable lines: IACOPO| DAPUN| NO. In the margin we distinguish the capitals Q|N|O. With her left hand the Virgin holds the naked Christ Child who nestles in her lap, his left hand laid upon her knee. He is turned three-quarters left and gazes up at his mother. In the background, to the right, there are little figures of St. Joseph in pale blue, St. Elizabeth in purple skirt, bodice with red sleeves and white headdress, and the little St. John who is nude except for a scarf tied over his right shoulder. He holds a basket for St. Joseph who is in the act of stepping on to a stool. St. Elizabeth, turned three-quarters to the right, stands in an archway reading. Above her, over a parapet, a woman's figure leans. Behind the Virgin's head and shoulders, houses and to the left, the pyramidal tops of two campaniles.

Oil on wood. H. 1.20, w. 1.01.

From the King's private collection. Attributed to Pontormo and considered to be genuine by Morelli; not mentioned by Vasari; not cited by Berenson. Goldschmidt calls it a "signiertes Spätwerk," although the inscription is a late addition. This panel is a copy of a lost original by Pontormo which must have dated from about 1540-1550. The smooth and dry flesh-painting, the feeble and heavy feeling for form give but little hint of the quality of the original. The composition, however, was famous. A number of other copies are known: one, a mere ruin, in the Royal Villa at Castello, near Florence; another (modified) in the office of Sir Frederick Cook, St. Paul's Churchyard, London; others in the former Galleria Ferroni, now in the Cenacolo di Foligno, Via Faenza, Florence, in a private collection in Berlin, at Hampton Court, No. 193 (249), and in the collection of Mr. Vernon Watney, at Cornbury Park, Oxford. A good copy, once ascribed to Bronzino but really by Naldini and bearing the date 1561, has recently

been taken from the store-rooms of the Boston Museum and placed on exhibition there. The composition also appears in a poor black-chalk drawing, in the Uffizi (No. 6629), that dates in all probability from the eighteenth century. See in this catalogue, under the collections cited.

Condition: heavily repainted on the Virgin's mantle and head-dress and on the drapery of the figures of the background.

Reprod. Photo. Bruckmann, Munich, 1897; for other copies, see above.

Bibl. Von Reber, *Katalog der Gemälde-Sammlung d. königl. älteren Pinakothek in München,* München, 1908, p. 233; Morelli, *Munich and Dresden Galleries,* 1893, p. 101; ed. 1904, p. 240; English ed., p. 220; *Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond,* ed. by Herbert Cook, London, 1913, p. 47.

Röhrer Collection

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

Bust figure, life-size. Dark hair, large ears, and eyes that look at the spectator. Dressed in a black silk coat, slashed on the arms and simply embroidered about the neck and down the front, a simple, white collar embroidered at the edge and a black cap. He is just taking a sheet of paper from an inside pocket. On this sheet the notes and words of the beginning of a madrigal are written and in the lower left corner, the date 1547.

Oil on poplar wood. H. .584, w. .498.

Ascribed to Pontormo by Schmidt; but the heavy, glossy colour, the fussy modelling, the uneasy naturalism, and the absence of any amplitude of conception show that this panel has obvious affinities with the later manner of Salviati to whom it is ascribed by Voss, but of whose work I do not consider it to be an authentic example.

Reprod. Schmidt, article cited below, pl. 29, No. 2; Voss, article cited below, fig. 4.

Bibl. Wilhelm Schmidt, *Gemälde aus der Sammlung Röhrer, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft,* 1910, p. 141; Hermann Voss, *Italienische Gemälde des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts in der Galerie des Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseums zu Wien, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* 1912, pp. 41-43; Gamba, *Alcuni ritratti di Cecchino Salviati, Rassegna d'arte,* IX (1909), 4.

NAPLES

Museo Nazionale

14. CARDINAL KNEELING AT THE FEET OF CHRIST

Oil on wood.

Ascribed to Pontormo by Monaco. The panel has however no connection with Jacopo's work. It is not now exhibited.

Bibl. Monaco, *Handbook to the National Museum of Naples,* trans. Rolfe, 1883, p. 196; Aldo de Rinaldis, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli,* Napoli, 1911, 560; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Borenius, London, 1914, VI, 196.

17 X, 10. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS

Oil on wood. H. 1.15, w. .86.

Originally ascribed to Andrea del Sarto. In inventory S. 84163 it is attributed to Pontormo with whose work it has no connection. The original of this picture is in the Prado; a replica of the Naples copy, and like it falsely ascribed to Andrea, hangs in the Borghese Gallery. The present panel comes from the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma (inv. 1680), and Naples, Capodimonte (inv. A. 101 — Andrea del Sarto; inv. S. G. 275 — copy of Andrea del Sarto).

Bibl. De Rinaldis, catalogue cited above, p. 40.

18 XIV, 16. PORTRAIT OF TWO ARCHITECTS

Dated M.D.LVI.
Oil on wood. H. 1.20, w. .90.

Anciently ascribed to Andrea del Sarto; by De Rinaldis to a follower of Bronzino and Pontormo. Borenius thinks it a "mixture of Bronzino and Pontormo." The picture shows little direct influence of Jacopo.

Reprod. Photo. Anderson 5494; Brogi 6760.
Bibl. De Rinaldis, catalogue cited above, p. 41 ff.; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Borenius, London, 1914, p. 196.

20 XIV, 4. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN

Bust figure. She is blond and wears a large necklace wound twice around her neck, a bodice with large sleeves, and holds in her hand an open book bound in red. She looks at the spectator.
Oil on wood. H. .68, w. .49.

This portrait, which came originally from the Palazzo Farnese in Rome (inv. 1697, No. 151), was later at Capodimonte, Naples (inv. A. 11009) and was there ascribed to the "School of Leonardo." In the inventory S. G. 309, it is attributed to Bronzino. De Rinaldis ascribes it to the "School of Pontormo." It would seem to be from the "bottega" of Allori. The hands are well drawn but the colouring is crude and the modelling feeble.

Reprod. Photo. Anderson 5496.
Bibl. De Rinaldis, catalogue cited above, p. 43.

22, VIII, 13. VENUS AND CUPID

Oil on wood. H. 1.34, w. 1.95.

Once ascribed to Bronzino. It is however a copy with slight modifications of the "Venus and Cupid" of the Uffizi. The same long, bony forefinger occurs here. De Rinaldis gives it to Alessandro Allori. Provenance: Parma,

Palazzo del Giardino (inv. 1680) where it was ascribed to Giovanni Bellini; Naples, Capodimonte, and later Palazzo Reale (inv. A. 11656 — Agnolo Bronzino; inv. S. 84068 — *idem*).

Reprod. Photo. Brogi 6772; Thode, *Michelangelo*, III, 487.
Bibl. De Rinaldis, catalogue cited above, p. 46; Thode, *op. cit.*, III, 485.

682, XXV. VENUS AND CUPID

Cartoon. H. 1.30, w. 2.12.

Once held to be Michelangelo's original cartoon for the "Venus and Cupid" painted for Bettini by Pontormo. Thode preserves the traditional attribution, although it is quite evident that this is merely a late and mediocre copy of Jacopo's picture. Provenance: Palazzo Farnese in Rome (inv. 86654).

Bibl. De Rinaldis, catalogue cited below, p. 554.

NEW HAVEN

Jarves Collection

Yale University

78 (100). PORTRAIT OF COSIMO I

Bust figure nearly full face. His hair and beard are dark brown, his complexion bronzed and his blue eyes look at the spectator. He wears a dark velvet coat with embroidered fastenings, a broad turned-down plain white collar, a heavy flat gold chain with links of elaborate design alternating with others smaller, in each of which a pearl. The background is dark, ripe-olive green. On the upper left corner of the back of the panel, a seal.

Oil on wood (the panel is made up of three pieces). H. .61, w. .48.

Originally ascribed to Pontormo and considered to be authentic by Berenson. This is however a weak copy from the "bottega" of Alessandro Allori of a portrait painted by Pontormo at the very end of his career. Under the somewhat dejected air of the copy we still catch a hint of the severity of vision of the original. The chain is identical with that which one sees in the former Sedelmeyer portrait cited below, except that in the present panel the pendant is not visible. It is, of course, the insignia of the Golden Fleece which was given to Cosimo by the Emperor in 1546. The original must, therefore, have been painted after that date. Many portraits exist related either to the prototype of our portrait or to a similar and contemporaneous portrait by Bronzino which Vasari (VII, 601) mentions that Agnolo painted when the Duke was forty years of age, namely in 1549-1550. In all of these the head is seen in exactly the same pose, but the dress or the pose of the body is different. Among them we may point out the following, citing

them according to the apparent age at which Cosimo is represented: (1) The bust portrait, in Vienna, with shoulders turned slightly to the right, ascribed to Bronzino but really a "bottega" copy. (2) Vasari's full-length portrait, once ascribed to Pontormo and now in the Chapel of Leo X, in the Palazzo Vecchio. (3) The bust portrait ascribed to Bronzino in the Pitti, in which the Duke wears the same collar as in No. 1, but over a doublet trimmed with fur. (4) The half-length portrait, which was once in the Sedelmeyer Collection (No. 99), in which Cosimo, with shoulders turned three-quarters left, wears a lace collar and the Order of the Golden Fleece. (5) A similar portrait, once in the same collection and ascribed to Bronzino (No. 101), in which the shoulders are turned the other way. Dr. Sirén informs me that a portrait of the same description exists in the collection of the Principe del Drago.

Condition: fair; cracked where the boards of the panel join.

Date of the original: 1546-1556.

Reprod. Photo. Randall, 11 Pratt Street, Hartford, Conn.

Bibl. *Descriptive Catalogue of "Old Masters" Collected by James J. Jarves*, Cambridge, 1860; *Manual of the Jarves Collection*, Russell Sturgis, Jr., New Haven, 1868, p. 84; *Catalogue Sedelmeyer*, pp. 88, 112; Sirén, *Catalogue of the Jarves Collection*, New Haven, 1916.

79 (99). MARTYRDOM OF ST. MAURICE

Oil on wood. H. .28, w. .28.

A poor and modified copy, made, it would seem, in Florence at the end of the sixteenth century, of Pontormo's picture, now in the Pitti (No. 182). The 1860 catalogue of the collection considered the present panel to be authentic but weak. It has been drastically cleaned and the general tone is now a misty grey. The size is slightly larger than the original which has been cut down. The copy reveals, therefore, a trifle more of the figures on both sides of the composition.

Condition: seriously injured, especially the hand of the judge; the panel is warped and the colours, except the orange, completely faded.

Reprod. Photo. Randall.

Bibl. *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 57; *Manual*, p. 84; Sirén, *op. cit.*

98 (104). PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Half-length, seen facing, her left hand resting on a table (?), her index finger keeps her place between the leaves of a book. She has dark brown hair parted in the middle, grey-blue eyes and wears a black dress cut square and low at the neck and edged with a fine embroidery of gold, a white chemisette open in V-form at the throat, and a white cap with a veil over it. Around her neck, a gold chain knotted in front from which hangs a gold medallion of a man's head profile left; on her forefinger, a gold ring. The book is bound in reddish leather ornamented with three parallel gold lines. The background is a grey-green landscape — valley, hills and trees; the sky, dark grey-blue.

Oil on wood (the original part of the panel is made up of five pieces). H. .64, w. .48.

Attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo by the author of the catalogue of 1860, an attribution for which there is not the slightest foundation, as there is none for identifying the person represented as Vittoria Colonna. The same writer feels that this somewhat stiff and inexpressive picture unites "the warm, rich, grave tones of the Venetian School to the strength and boldness of design of Michelangelo." Russell Sturgis in his *Manual* follows this early attribution. Berenson ascribes the picture to Pontormo. It is however, according to Dr. Sirén, with whose opinion I completely concur, a Ferrarese work and has probably a certain connection with the art of Dosso Dossi. This portrait is really only a fragment, has suffered not a little, and has lately been thoroughly cleaned in connection with which restoration it became clear that the lower part of the panel, from just above the medallion downwards, is a late addition. For the iconography of Vittoria Colonna, see under "Portrait of Vittoria Colonna," Casa Buonarotti.

Condition: injured, rubbed, and repainted about the face; recently restored; a vertical crack across the face; the lower part of the composition is spurious.

Reprod. Photo. Randall.

Bibl. Catalogues cited above; *Manual*, p. 84 f.

NEW YORK

Ehrich Galleries

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Half-length, seated three-quarters left, the head almost full face. He looks at the spectator. His left hand rests on the arm of his chair, his right is raised and holds a small open book on which one distinguishes the letters X. A.| F. V. P.| ... 558. He wears a beard and is dressed in a dark coat with white collar and cuffs, and a large black hat. Behind him, a dark brownish green curtain and, to the left, sky, clouds, and a little landscape of river, ruins, tower and hill. The flesh-tints are brownish.

Oil on wood. H. 32½ in., w. 28½ in.

Ascribed to Pontormo, with whose work it shows no relation. The colouring, the modelling, the drawing of the eye, as well as many other details, make it certain that this is a Cremonese picture, and probably the work of Giulio Campi.

Reprod. Photo. The Ehrich Galleries.

Wildenstein Collection

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Bust figure, profile left, the head three-quarters left. He looks at the spectator. In his right hand he holds a little book. He has a thin square beard and wears a dark cap and coat with a narrow white collar.

Oil on wood.

In 1905 this portrait was, if I am not mistaken, in the Constantini Collection in Florence where it was quite arbitrarily ascribed to Pontormo. It was originally attributed to Andrea — an attribution which Perkins and, it would appear, Berenson believe to be correct.

Condition: retouched.
Reprod. Photo. Reali; fig., *Rassegna d'arte,* article cited below.
Bibl. F. Mason Perkins, *Miscellanea, Rassegna d'arte,* XV (1915), 122.

OXFORD

Cornbury Park

Collection of Mr. Vernon Watney

MADONNA AND CHILD

Copy of the picture ascribed to Pontormo in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (No. 1090). For other copies, see in this division of the catalogue, under Berlin; Boston; Florence, Cenacolo di Foligno, Collection Ferroni; Hampton Court; London, Cook Collection; Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

PALERMO

Museo Nazionale

406. JUDITH

Believed by Berenson to be an example of Jacopo's later manner. It is however, according to Gamba, a replica of the "Judith" by Jacopo Ligozzi of Verona, now in the Pitti Palace.

Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 177.

PANSHANGER

Collection of Lady Desborough

PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH

Three-quarter length; dressed in black with velvet bands about the jerkin, a white shirt showing on the breast; three-cornered black hat. He writes at a table covered with a striped cloth of red, yellow, yellow-green, and slate colour. Background, dark grey.
Oil on wood. H. .92, w. .67.

Exhibited Manchester, 1857; Burlington House, 1881. Ascribed to Andrea. This portrait, which has a superficial resemblance to the work of Pontormo, has been given to him by certain critics, but it is, of course, not authentic. The colouring clearly recalls that of the "Portrait of a Youth with a Lute," in the Jacquemart-André Collection in Paris, which is also unauthentic. The present panel bears an inscription: "8 Dicenbre. Mastro Domenico assai mi chamo sod . . . to verso di voi avendo strato (?) propinquo ingenio per dimostrarmi qual proprio a . . . sono . . . tanto . . . molto obrigato 1523 . . . Andr . . ." Crowe and Cavalcaselle believed the portrait to be a genuine Andrea and of fine quality. Neither Hutton nor Borenius dissents from their opinion. On considerations of style and modelling Gamba ascribes it to Puligo, assuming that the "Domenico" of the picture is none other than the artist himself.

Reprod. Photo. Braun; fig., article cited below, pp. 278-279.

Bibl. Gamba, *Di alcuni ritratti del Puligo, Rivista d'arte*, VI (1909), 280; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, III, 513; ed. Borenius, VI, 201; Waagen, *Treasures of Art*, III, 11.

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Dressed in red; half-length. In front of her, a parapet covered with a green cloth on which lies a book of music, the "Canzoniere del Petrarca," and, to the left, a third book closed. On the parapet: TV DEA TV PRESES NOSTRO SVCCVRE; LABORI; and on one of the capitals: MELIORA LATENT. Background: on one side, pilasters; on the other, a landscape.

Oil on wood. H. .96, w. .79.

Exhibited Burlington House, 1881; at the Grafton Galleries (No. 49) in 1909-1910. Falsely ascribed to Andrea of whose later work Waagen and Crowe and Cavalcaselle believed it to be an example. Neither Hutton nor Borenius dissents from the traditional opinion. Some critics have suggested that it is a Pontormo but it shows no trace of his hand. Gamba believes it to be a Puligo and proposes that it be identified with the latter's lost "Portrait of Barbara Cortegiana," which is mentioned by Vasari and which Berenson, on the contrary, identifies with the "Santa Barbara," now in the Hermitage. The panel has, I think, been rather unhappily cleaned, but there is something in the modelling, the type of the face, the hands, and the colour, which makes me practically certain that it is by Granacci. It should be compared with his "Assumption of the Virgin," now in the Academy, at Florence.

Reprod. Photo. Gray; Braun 37397; fig., Gamba, article cited below; catalogue published by Heinemann cited below.

Bibl. Waagen, *op. cit.*, III, 11; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. 1864-1866, III, 585; ed. Hutton, III, 513; ed. Borenius, VI, 201; *Catalogue of the National Loan Exhibition*, London: Heinemann, 1910, p. 69; *Catalogue of the National Loan Exhibition*, Ballantyne and Co., p. 49; Gamba, *Di alcuni ritratti del Puligo, Rivista d'arte*, VI (1909), 281.

ATTRIBUTED PICTURES

PARIS

Jacquemart-André Collection

PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH WITH A LUTE

Half-length; turned three-quarters right and seated in an arm-chair before a table. His grey-blue eyes look at the spectator. In his lap he holds a large six (double) string light brown lute, on which he plays; before him on the table a book of music lies open. He wears a coat of dark violet-brown stuff with large slashed sleeves trimmed with bands of black velvet and a black velvet hat; through the slashings a lining of dark red is visible; at the neck, a small white ruche. The table-cloth is striped — dark red, black, dark grey, dark olive-grey, light red and yellow. In the background to the right, the brown cornice and pilasters of a massive cupboard on which a small brown statue of Cupid and three large books bound in dark violet leather, and tied with green ribbons; to the left, a looped-up dark green curtain.

Oil on wood.

Provenance unknown; attributed to Pontormo but, close as is this portrait to the work of our master, the clumsy treatment of the hands, the hard inorganic folds, the somewhat vacant modelling of the face convince me that it is not his. It also lacks a certain largeness and calm in the composition that we have a right to expect from Jacopo. On the other hand the drawing of the ear, eye, and mouth do not suggest Salviati, and we do not find here his restless insistence on minor passages in the modelling. The colour recalls vividly a portrait of a youth writing at a table covered with a striped cloth, in Lady Desborough's collection, at Panshanger. Both may well be by the same hand. It would, of course, be pure conjecture to suggest that that hand was Giovann' Antonio Lappoli's and that the person represented in our portrait is Antonio da Lucca. But the present picture was certainly painted under the direct inspiration of Pontormo's work, and it cannot date from before 1515 nor from after 1525. Jacopo had, as is well known, few pupils. Those directly in contact with the master, during this period, were Bronzino, Pichi, and Lappoli. Our panel cannot be by Bronzino whose earliest work in portraiture is based upon the manner Jacopo used after 1530. Of this the portraits of Panciatichi, Martelli, and Giannettino Doria furnish every proof. Of Pichi practically nothing is known. Lappoli, on the other hand, precisely during the years in which our portrait was painted, was busy copying the works of Pontormo and even, so Vasari affirms, helping him with others. We learn too from Vasari, who was an intimate friend of Lappoli's (both were Aretines) and who was in Florence during the years in question, that Lappoli, instead of working diligently at his art, gave himself up to various amusements in the house of Ser Raffaello di Sandro Zoppo, Cappellano in San Lorenzo. There he met and made a friend of Antonio da Lucca, "musico e sonator di liuto eccellentissimo che allora era giovinetto" (VI, 7). Antonio taught Lappoli to play the lute, and Giovann' Antonio, as might

have been expected, painted Antonio's portrait — "ritratti di naturale fra quali fu quello di detto messer Antonio da Lucca e quello di ser Raffaello, che sono molto buoni" (VI, 8). The personage represented in our portrait is not only "sonator di liuto" but "giovinetto" as well. Vasari tells us that Lappoli returned to Arezzo in 1523.

Condition: good; repainted here and there, especially on the face, the left hand and parts of the robe.

Date: 1518-1523.

Reprod. Photo. Bulloz.

Louvre

1242. VISITATION

Composition of thirteen figures on steps in front of a Renaissance door flanked by two engaged columns. On next to the lowest step, a woman seated nearly profile right, the head three-quarters right; behind her, a woman standing, profile right, with a bundle on her head; behind the latter figure, an old woman with a staff, the head turned three-quarters left; behind and above these figures, a woman holding an infant in her arms, her head profile right. In the centre of the composition, the Madonna standing profile right receives St. Elizabeth who, standing profile left on the step below, bends her knee to the Virgin. To the right on the next lowest step, Zechariah, profile left, holding with his left arm against his hip a large book, his head three-quarters left; behind him, Joseph, his head three-quarters right, his left hand raised pointing to the Virgin. Behind Zechariah and above, a woman standing nearly full face; to the extreme right, an old man's head profile right. Inside the door to the right, two women. On the architrave, the inscription: VN . HOC . MI . VT . VE.

Oil on wood. H. 2.75, w. 1.68.

Brought from Italy by Napoleon. Anciently attributed to Rosso. Villot was the first to notice that it is an old free copy of Pontormo's fresco of the "Visitation," in the courtyard of the Annunziata at Florence. The background has been completely altered, the composition narrowed and heightened, the drapery and the colouring modified, the figures rearranged. Two figures, a woman to the left and the "putto" on the steps to the right, have been eliminated as well as the "Sacrifice of Isaac" which occupies the upper part of Pontormo's original fresco. The inscription also is different. It seems to me probable that this copy was made toward the end of the sixteenth century. Salle IV.

Condition: excellent.

Date: 1560-1570.

Reprod. Photo. Braun 11242; Landon, VII, pl. 33.

Bibl. Filhol, XVI, 21-24; *Catalogue Villot*, No. 159, p. 93; *Catalogue Tauzia*, No. 144; *Notice des tableaux du Musée royal*, pp. 218-219; Seymour De Ricci, *Description*, p. 41.

PHILADELPHIA

Johnson Collection

84. PORTRAIT OF BARTOLOMMEO DI LORENZO GUALTERETTI

Half-length; he leans forward with his hands crossed on a brown parapet; he wears a black cap and black coat with embroidered collar and cuffs, one link of a gold chain appearing. In his jewelled fingers he holds a paper on which the motto: "Comporta et astiente." To the left, the base of a column on which the inscription: BART · DILOR · GVALTEROTTĬ| DĒTĀ DANNI XLII| L'ANNO M · D · L ·

Oil on wood. H. .76, w. .58.

Provenance unknown. Attributed to Pontormo by Berenson who considers it a typical work of our painter's last years. I do not however, after careful study, believe that it is authentic.

Date: 1550.

Bibl. *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and some Art Objects: Italian Paintings,* Berenson (Philadelphia: John G. Johnson, 1913), I, 46.

McIhlenny Collection

PORTRAIT OF GIULIANO DE' GONDI

Bust figure; the shoulders profile right, the head three-quarters right. He looks at the spectator, wears a long beard, has dark hair and eyes, and is dressed in a dark coat with a white collar. The background is olive-green.

Oil on wood.

Once in the Cernuschi Collection. Acquired in Milan and ascribed to Pontormo. This portrait might easily be mistaken for an authentic specimen of his portraiture were it not for the modelling of the eyes and nose and the brush-work of the hair and beard. On the back of the panel we find the following inscription in a handwriting of the second half of the sixteenth century: "Giuliano| di Lionardo pater| di Giuliano auus| de Lionardo pro auus| di Lionardo abauus| di Simone atauus| di Bart. tritauus| dj Casa de ghondj| Annos natur. xxxviij."

Reprod. The Chappel Studio, Philadelphia.

Wanamaker Collection

230. HOLY FAMILY

Oil on wood. H. 45½ in., w. 37½ in.

Ascribed to Pontormo without reason. It is a slightly modified copy of the well-known and signed "Holy Family" by Bronzino, now in Vienna (No. 49). Another ancient copy exists in the Louvre.

Reprod. Catalogue cited below, pl. 180.

Bibl. Siter, *Catalogue of the Wanamaker Collection*, p. 105. Cf. also Guiffrey, *L'Arte*, V (1902), 259; De Chennevières, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XXX (1903), 494; Nicolle, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XVIII (1905), 190; Schulze, *Bronzino*, p. XXV.

POGGIO A CAJANO

The Great Hall in the Royal Villa

LUNETTE: THE APPLES OF THE HESPERIDES

Composition of ten figures.
Fresco.

This lunette, which faces Pontormo's fresco, has often and quite incorrectly been attributed to Pontormo. The initial error was apparently due to Raffaello Borghini's somewhat misleading description of Jacopo's "Pomona and Vertumnus." The present lunette is, of course, by Alessandro Allori and dates from 1580-1582. Allori refers to it in his *Ricordi:* "... doue ho fatto dirimpetto all' arco di Jacopo da Puntormo tutto con gran (certa) inuentione del Revdo Priore delli Innocenti di Firenze Don Vincentio Borghini, Dio l' habbi in gloria, dove come ho detto nell' arco di contro al detto di mo Jacopo e figurato i pomi degli orti Esperidi guardati dalle Nimfe, da Ercole e dalla Fortuna..."

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 29441 (as Pontormo).
Bibl. *Ricordi di Alessandro Allori, Biblioteca della rivista d'arte*, 1908, p. 29.

ST. PETERSBURG

Hermitage

85. HOLY FAMILY

The Virgin seated on the steps of an edifice holds on her knees the Christ Child and draws to her the little St. John whom the Infant Jesus takes by the hand; to the left, St. Elizabeth and St. Joseph seated.
Oil on slate. H. .44, w. .31.

Once in the Crozat Collection; anciently attributed to Parmigianino; given to Pontormo by Brüiningk and Somof and by Goldschmidt; not mentioned by Berenson. I have not seen this picture.

Bibl. Brüiningk and Somof, catalogue cited below, p. 57. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.* (dissertation), p. 47.

25. SANTA BARBARA

Half-length figure. She is dressed in a red mantle with a gilded belt and a sable cap; she wears a pearl necklace from which hangs a medallion on which one sees a cross. She holds in her hand a model of the tower in which she lived. Background, a drapery.
Oil on wood. H. .92, w. .69.

This panel was originally a portrait of a young woman; the tower she holds was added later, thus changing the picture into a "Santa Barbara." Acquired from the Crozat Collection by Catherine II. Anciently, and by Waagen, attributed to Andrea del Sarto; by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Bacchiacca; by Berenson to Puligo. The later compares it with a "Madonna and Boy Saint" (photo. Anderson 5268) in the collection of Miss Hertz. Brüiningk and Somof suggest Jacopo as the author, and Guiness also finds it more akin to Pontormo than to Andrea. A careful comparison with Pontormo's "Portrait of a Young Girl," once in the Yerkes Collection adds to the plausibility of their suggestion. The panel, however, seems to have been so seriously altered by restoration and rehandling that any attribution must now be considered conjectural. Vasari mentions (IV, 465) that Puligo painted a portrait of Barbara, "cortegiana fiorentina," which Borghini states was later in the possession of Giovambattista Deti who, to please his wife, had the music that Barbara held painted out and the symbols of *Santa Lucia* substituted (*Riposo,* ed. 1807, libro III, pp. 190 f.). If we assume, as Berenson does, that we have here the Puligo portrait mentioned by Vasari, we must also assume that Borghini wrote Santa Lucia when he meant Santa Barbara. But the picture does not seem to me to be by Puligo and I do not think that his "Barbara" should be identified with it. Gamba (*Rivista d'arte,* VI, 280) believes that the Puligo portrait in question is the "Portrait of a Woman with a Book of Music," in Panshanger, and that the attributes of Santa Lucia were removed in a cleaning which that panel underwent at an unknown date. This latter portrait, however, seems to be a Granacci.

Condition: seriously rehandled; transferred from wood to canvas in 1817.

Date: 1515-1535.

Reprod. Photo. Braun; fig., *Hermitage Gallery,* 1912, p. 197.

Bibl. *Catalogues de ventes et livrets de salons: Catalogue de la Collection Crozat* (1755), Paris, 1909; *Ermitage impérial, Catalogue de la galerie des tableaux,* 2d ed., St. Pétersbourg, 1869; Brüiningk et Somof, *Ermitage impérial,* St. Pétersbourg, 1891, p. 158; Somof, *Catalogue de la galerie des tableaux,* 1909, p. 44; Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung in der kaiserlichen Eremitage zu St. Petersburg,* St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 40; Guiness, *Andrea del Sarto,* London, 1899, p. 97; *Hermitage Gallery* (in Russian), 1912, p. 197; B. F. D., I, 298 f.

ROME

Borghese Gallery

74. PORTRAIT OF A MAGISTRATE

Three-quarter length; badly seated or standing turned three-quarters left; his right hand rests on the table beside him, his left on the arm of a chair. His complexion and eyes are dark, his hair grey, curly and scant on the top of the head. He wears a sleeveless deep red velvet robe and brown undergarment with white at the throat and wrists. The table-cover is light green, the background dark grey-green, to the left a grey-brown column, to the right, a pilaster of the same stone-colour. In his right hand, a folded letter. On it

an address almost illegible which seems to read: A honle Me Fala ... Canezini ... Jacimo| orafo ... Jn firenz. On the flap of the letter: Lui.

Oil on wood. H. .97, w. .75.

From the original Borghese Collection; anciently attributed to Bronzino. A work of Pontormo's seems once to have existed on this panel, but in its present state only shadowy traces of his hand show here and there.

Condition: ruined and completely repainted.
Date: 1538-1543.
Reprod. Photo. Moscioni 21172.
Bibl. Venturi, *Galleria Borghese*, 1893, p. 72; Lafenestre, *Rome*, p. 44.

79. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN

Oil on slate. H. 1.12, w. .79.

Once ascribed to Pontormo; it is probably a product of the workshop of Bronzino. Cf. the following.

Bibl. Schulze, *Bronzino*, p. XXVIII; Lafenestre, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

100. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN

Oil on slate. H. 1.12, w. .79.

Cf. the preceding.

173. TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL

The angel stands facing, his head turned three-quarters right looking down at Tobias; he is thick-set, has curly light brown hair and dark brown eyes, a long oval face and halo and wears a scarlet mantle edged with gold and knotted on the left shoulder, a violet tunic shot with green, white undersleeves with violet-pink shadows, and purple wings catching a yellow light. His hands are short with thick large palms; in the right he holds a golden bowl with spoon and cover half open; in his left hand, the right hand of Tobias. To the right Tobias stands facing, his head seen in profile to the left, his eyes raised to the angel's are dark brown, his hair curly and brown with an aureole of golden spikes; he wears a violet grey tunic edged with gold, showing white lace at the neck and trimmed with a collar of yellow fur and a blue waist-band, light grey undersleeves, green hose, grey boots, grey hat hung on his left shoulder and a brown cloak that falls behind him from his right shoulder and is caught up in front by his left arm; this cloak is yellow where it catches the light; the fish which is green is held against his left hip. To the left of the angel, a little white dog. The sky is a greenish blue with white clouds, the horizon violet-pink fading to white; the distant landscape is pale green, the foreground, brown. On the back of the panel: "Iscrizione fide commissaria| del di 3 Giugno 1834| Nota 2a letta B| Raffaellino da Reggio| Largo pol 2 oni 4 alto pol 3 oni 4."

Oil on wood. H. .75, w. .53.

Provenance unknown; not mentioned by Vasari; anciently ascribed to Andrea; by the catalogue to the Tuscan School of the sixteenth century; by Venturi to a feeble imitator of Andrea. The attribution to Pontormo is Berenson's. The hands are broad, the fingers short, the feet badly drawn. The finish is here and there that of a miniature. Other variants of this composition, scattered through the galleries of Europe, indicate an archetype,

now lost, which was perhaps by Andrea. One of these variants is in the Pitti (No. 292). There is another in the Corsini Gallery, Florence (No. 113), which is ascribed to Andrea but which is in colour reminiscent of Bacchiacca (oil on copper, h. .35, w. .26). Another and later derivative exists in the New York Public Library. The present panel is probably a Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, although repainting, especially on the hands, has obscured the original touch. It should be compared with Ridolfo's "Nativity," which was painted for the Cestello and which is now in the Museum of Budapest.

Condition: repainted.
Date: 1534-1535.
Reprod. Photo. Moscioni 21212 (as Andrea).
Bibl. Venturi, catalogue cited above.

"PORTRAIT OF CÆSAR BORGIA"

Half-length turned three-quarters left; his hands upon his hips, in his right, a dagger. He has a light beard and moustache and wears a dark doublet with light slashed sleeves over a dark lining, embroidered ruffs at the wrists, dark cap with small gold ornaments on it and, to the right, a large drooping feather.

Once in the Borghese Gallery from which it was stolen some years ago. The original attribution gave this panel to Raphael. Recently some have suggested that it is a Pontormo. I have seen it only in photograph, and it seems to me to show not the slightest trace of his hand. Bode places it about 1525-1530; Morelli ascribes it to Bronzino; Crowe describes it as a mixture of Raphael, Parmigianino, Bronzino and Giulio Romano; Bruckhardt gives it to Giorgio Perez, Mündler to Parmigianino. The personage represented is not Cæsar Borgia.

Condition: a piece added on all sides.
Reprod. Photo. Anderson 1085 (as Raphael); fig., *Archivio storico dell' arte*, V, 3.
Bibl. Yriarte, *Les portraits de Cesare Borgia, Gazette des beaux-arts*, 2e pér., XXXVI (1887), 200; *Archivio storico dell' arte*, V (1892), 3; Frizzoni, *Giovanni Morelli, idem*, 1897, p. 87.

Barbier de Montault (*Musées et galeries de Rome*, Rome, 1870) ascribes quite arbitrarily the following pictures in the Borghese Gallery to Pontormo: "Madonna and Child," No. 70 of the first room, p. 347; "Resurrection of Jairus' Daughter," No. 73 of the thirteenth room, p. 367; "Circumcision," No. 76 and "The Burial of St. Thomas Aquinas," No. 80 of the same room, p. 387. The numbering has since been changed.

Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia

STORIES FROM THE LIFE OF JOSEPH

Oil on wood. H. 1.65, w. .60.

Two "cassone" panels ascribed by certain critics to Pontormo, by others

to Franciabigio. They are really by Granacci and their present whereabouts is unknown.

Bibl. Lafenestre, *Rome*, pp. 261 ff.; Ulmann, *Piero di Cosimo, Jahrbuch d. königl. preuss. Samml.*, XVII (1896), 52.

Palazzo Spada

16. VISITATION

The composition is a slightly modified replica of the "Visitation" by Andrea del Sarto, in the cloister of the Scalzo. Andrea's fresco is in monochrome; the present panel has the following colour-scheme: Zacharias wears a light green cap, mantle and shoes, yellow sleeves and dark yellow stockings; under his arm, a greyish green bag; Joseph, a greenish white mantle; Mary, whose hair is red and is tied with a light green ribbon, a dark greenish blue mantle with yellow sleeves, a scarlet tunic and grey-green slippers; Elizabeth, a dark blue-green robe, yellow mantle, and over her head, a white scarf; the serving-maid, a pink dress, in her hands a bundle of linen in a blue-green cloth, on her head, a white scarf; the serving-man, a blue-green doublet, garter and shoes, pink hose and belt; on his head a yellow bundle, in his right hand a white basin; all the saints have haloes of fine gold; the steps are grey-green, the foreground, pinkish brown.

Oil on wood. H. .65, w. .88.

This panel, once ascribed to Andrea, is a small copy of the fresco in the Scalzo that Del Sarto finished, according to the documents, (A. S. F., Scalzo, Debitori e Creditori B., 1514-1535, p. 106), in November, 1524. The touch recalls to a certain degree Jacopo's early work, but after 1524 his feeling for form was quite other than that which is revealed by the present panel. It is conceivable that our copy was made by Lappoli or by Pierfrancesco di Jacopo who are known to have copied some of the frescoes of the Scalzo (Vasari, VI, 8). Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider that it was executed in the "bottega" of Andrea.

Condition: excellent.

Date: after 1524.

Reprod. Photo. Anderson 5680 (as Pontormo).

Bibl. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, III, 509; ed. Borenius, VI, 195.

PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL FABRIZIO SPADA AND HIS SECRETARY

The cardinal is seated, turned three-quarters right, in a Savonarola chair, his head three-quarters left. He wears a light red cap and scarlet watered silk cape over a white embroidered cassock. He holds in his right hand a book that he has just been reading, his index finger between the leaves. To the right stands his secretary, turned three-quarters left. He wears a dark soutane with a white linen collar. He is partially bald and has a pointed beard. In his hands, a book from which he has just ceased to read.

Once ascribed to Pontormo; it is quite evidently by Pulzone, and was exhibited under the latter name in the Exhibition of Portraits in the Palazzo Vecchio, in 1911.

Reprod. Photo. Anderson 5684.

ATTRIBUTED PICTURES

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Seated in a Dante chair by a table and turned three-quarters left. He has a brown beard that is turning grey and dark hair. He is dressed in a black coat with long frog fastenings, white collar edged with embroidery and white cuffs. On the table, an oriental table-cloth and a black inkstand with a quill pen in it. The table-cloth recalls that of the "Portrait of Cardinal Cervini," in the Borghese, but it is more thinly painted and has a border of a different design. In his right hand he holds a letter on which: "Al M..." The rest of the inscription is illegible. His left hand rests on the arm of the chair. In the upper right corner, a curtain with a light fringe.

This portrait, which is falsely ascribed to Pontormo, dates from the second half of the sixteenth century.

Reprod. Photo. Anderson 5679 (as Pontormo).

Rospigliosi Collection

PORTRAIT OF FRANCESCO DE' MEDICI

Half-length turned three-quarters left. He has dark short hair and wears a dark doublet with trimming of embroidered bands and a white embroidered collar; over his right shoulder, a drapery of lighter stuff. His left hand is laid on a very large and elaborate helmet, the lower part of which forms a monster's head and the crest, a winged buck. It is crowned with black and white ostrich plumes.

Oil on wood. H. about .90, w. about .70.

Once ascribed to Pontormo, attribution followed by Berenson in his first edition of *Florentine Painters*. This portrait, with another on the back of which was written "Leonardo de' Ginori," the authorship of which is unknown, passed in 1899 into the possession of an American doctor. Both were held by certain critics to be copies and both came originally from the Ginori Collection in Florence. I have not seen this picture, but, even from a photograph, it is evident that it shows no trace of Pontormo's hand. Moreover in it Francesco, who appears as a youth of sixteen, is too old to have been painted by Pontormo. The modelling suggests that this picture or its original was executed in the workshop of a pupil of Bronzino's.

Reprod. Photo. Anderson 4742.
Bibl. Venturi, *Tesori d'arte inediti di Roma*, 1896.

SCOTLAND

New Battle Abbey, Dalkeith
Collection of the Marquis of Lothian

PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH

Bibl. B. F. P. R., p. 177.

STUTTGART

Staatsgalerie

449. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Half-length; seated, three-quarters right, in a Savonarola chair, the head turned slightly left, the eyes look at the spectator; the left hand clasps the right arm of the chair, the right hand rests on the back of the left hand; to the right, the corner of a table. He has a thin beard and moustache and wears a black cap and coat; the table and chair are light yellow-brown. Background, a dark brown pilaster left and a light green curtain right.

Oil on wood. H. .78, w. .62.

Once in the collection of the archbishop of Bamberg, later in that of the Oberkriegsrat Landauer. Anciently attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo, by Bayersdorfer to Alessandro Allori, by Rieffel and Schulze to Bronzino. Other critics have, in connection with this picture, suggested the name of our master although quite without reason.

Condition: repainted.

Date: about 1540-1560.

Reprod. Photo. Hoefle.

Bibl. Schulze, *Bronzino*, 1911, p. XXIX; Länge-Tübingen, *Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung zu Stuttgart*, 1907, p. 169.

508 Mc. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Half figure in a red mantle.

Oil on wood. H. .93, w. .77.

Once ascribed to Masaccio, later to Andrea del Sarto and called "Portrait of a Roman Prelate." On the back, in a handwriting of the early nineteenth century: "Franciscus Conterenus Di Nicolai Dc Marie Canarensis Legatus in Etruria. MCCCCLIIII." Either this inscription is without foundation or the portrait is apochryphal for it seems to have been painted after 1560. It has been attributed to Pontormo by some critics and by others to Bronzino. Neither attribution deserves serious consideration.

Reprod. Photo. Hoefle; small cut, Reinach, *Répert.*, III, 411.

Bibl. *Verzeichnis*, p. 185; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, IV, 63.

TURIN

Regia Pinacoteca

122. PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Three-quarter length; seated, turned three-quarters left, in a Dante chair richly carved and ornamented with grotesque heads; her hands rest on the arms of the chair; she looks at the spectator. Her hair is light auburn and is bound up in a net; her eyes are

light brown. She wears a gold-coloured satin gown open at the throat — the bodice trimmed with darker velvet bands — a lace collar, an ample red brocaded mantle trimmed with velvet. Her ornaments are: a string of pearls as edging to the net over her hair, pearl necklace, gold chain, bracelets, a ring on the index finger of the right hand, another on the ring-finger of the left hand; around her waist, and hanging down the front of her skirt, an enamelled gold chain set with rubies and sapphires and fastened at the waist with a clasp set with a cameo. In her left hand she holds a small book bound in black, tooled and mounted in silver and closed with a silver clasp. Background: grey-green; from the upper left corner an ample drapery of oriental gauze — white striped with black and finished with a black fringe — is drawn behind the chair and piled up on the right side of the picture.

Oil on wood. H. 1.09, w. .85.

Acquired in Genoa in 1824 when the Marchese Durazzo sold his palace and collection to the King of Sardinia. The traditional attribution of this portrait to Bronzino is retained in the catalogue of the gallery and by Jacobsen and Schulze. Berenson has suggested that it is a Pontormo and I am inclined to believe that his conjecture may be well founded, although a severe rehandling seems to have effaced much of the quality that we naturally expect from Jacopo and so diminished the possibility of deciding definitely in regard to the authenticity of this panel. The person represented, who reminds one of the lady of the Oldenburg portrait grown older, is generally believed to be Eleonora da Toledo and the identification, although iconographically without foundation, is accepted by Jacobsen. And in this connection it is interesting to note that the picture was not originally believed to be a likeness of Eleonora. It was D'Azeglio who first imagined that he could recognize here the features of the consort of Cosimo I — an impression which led him to believe that the panel is a companion piece to No. 123 of this gallery, a "Portrait of Cosimo I," ascribed to Bronzino, which the Grand Duke himself gave to Emmanuel Filiberto and which, therefore, has long been in the possession of the House of Savoy.

Condition: repainted, especially about the hands and face.

Date: 1534-1545.

Reprod. Lithograph by Pozzioli, inc. di Giov. Ballero in Roberti d'Azeglio's, *La Reale Galleria di Torino*, Torino, 1836, pl. XXXIV; Schulze, *Bronzino*, pl. XVI; photo. Brogi 2304.

Bibl. Jacobsen, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Torino, Archivio storico dell' arte*, serie sec., III (1897), p. 130; Schulze, *Die Werke von Bronzinos*, p. 30; D'Azeglio, *op. cit.*, I, 219; *Catalogo illust. della R. Pinacoteca di Torino*, Vincenzo Bona, Torino, ed. 1909, p. 46, B. F. P. R., p. 177.

130. HOLY FAMILY

The Virgin is seated against a cliff overgrown with trees and shrubs; in her right hand, a book; in her left, a fold of drapery; her head is turned nearly profile left. She wears a turban and a pale red robe, a green scarf about her breast, a blue mantle across her lap. The Child, seated in her lap, holds in both hands a black bird. St. Anne is seated behind the Virgin to the left; she is draped in yellow with a white cloth over her head and neck. St. John sits astride of a red cloth in the foreground and plays with a lamb. Background, a wooded hill, and, on the right, a landscape.

Oil on wood. H. 1.12, w. .81.

Formerly No. 109; provenance unknown; given to the Gallery by the Baron Ettore Garriod. Not mentioned by Vasari; not cited by Berenson. Though now ascribed to Pontormo, an attribution in which Jacobsen concurs, this panel is probably a late Naldini. It is certainly quite unworthy of Jacopo.

Condition: badly repainted.

Reprod. Photo. Alinari 31399.

Bibl. Catalogue cited in the preceding, p. 57; Jacobsen, article cited in the preceding, p. 130.

VENICE

Museo Correr

LEDA

A copy of Michelangelo's well-known composition. Once in the possession of the antiquarian, Cavaliere Favenza. Jacobsen believes it to be by a follower of Correggio. Thode without reason finds that it suggests Pontormo.

Bibl. Thode, *Krit. Unters.*, II, 319; Jacobsen, *Repertorium*, XXII (1899), p. 28.

VIENNA

Belvedere

45. PORTRAIT OF AN ELDERLY LADY

Bust figure; turned three-quarters left; the eyes look three-quarters left. She has dark hair and eyes and wears a dark bodice with yellow-white chemisette open at the neck and a light yellow scarf over her hair. Dark background.

Oil on poplar wood. H. .52, w. .42.

This portrait entered the Gallery before 1824; provenance unknown; originally ascribed to the Florentine School; now attributed to Pontormo by the catalogue and by Berenson. Voss thinks that it is unauthentic, and, although I cite it in the "tableau chronologique" of my *Dessins*, I am now persuaded that it is in no way connected with the work of our master.

Reprod. Photo. Bruckmann, Munich, 1905.

Bibl. Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen der allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Wien, 1881, I, 254; *Führer durch die Gemälde-galerie, Alte Meister*, Wien, 1895, p. 20; *idem*, 1907, p. 15; Voss, *Zeitschrift f. bildende Kunst*, 1912, p. 44, n.

46. HOLY FAMILY

Oil on wood. H. 1.09, w. .87.

From the collection of Charles I of England. Once ascribed to Andrea; given by Waagen, Mündler, and Morelli to Bugiardini; by Engerth to

Bugiardini or Franciabigio; by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Pontormo. The picture is an evident Franciabigio to whom it is now generally attributed.

Bibl. Engerth, I, 294; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, III, 509; ed. Borenius, VI, 196; *Katalog*, 1907, p. 15.

50. PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH

Half-length; turned three-quarters left. He is dressed in a dark jacket with embroidered white collar and slashed sleeves; at the wrists, a white ruche; on his head, a black cap. His hair is light brown and extends down in front of the ear. He holds in his hands a letter on the back of which his age is inscribed: "✠ Añj diciassetti Mesi| sęj edj V. ī firēz." The four lines of writing of the letter itself are illegible. Background: the dark wooden panelling of a room with a cornice and, on either side, flat pilasters.

Oil on poplar wood. H. .72, w. .58.

Ultimate provenance unknown; once in the collection of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol; cited in the Inventory of the Ambraser Collection in 1719; brought to Vienna in 1773 (*Uebergabs-Verzeichniss*, No. 8). Mechel does not mention it. In Rosa's catalogue of 1804 (III, 93, No. 18), it appears as "School of Titian." In 1809 it was taken to Paris and returned in 1815. Krafft ascribes it to "Florentine School, perhaps Francesco Salviati." Wickoff attributes it erroneously to Santi di Tito; Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Bronzino (early work); Berenson tentatively to Pontormo. It is, however, obviously a Salviati and should be compared with his "Portrait of Himself" and his "Portrait of a Youth" (No. 1256; photo. Brogi), both now in the Uffizi; with his fine "Portrait of a Man," now in the Corsini Collection, in Florence (No. 127); with the portrait, also by Salviati, which is ascribed to Girolamo da Treviso and identified as Poggio Bracciolini (photo. Alinari), now in the Colonna Gallery, in Rome, as well as with the so-called "Tibaldeo" of the Museo Nazionale of Naples. It is worthy of note that the background in the "Portrait of a Man," in the Uffizi, is identical with that of the present portrait, as is the treatment of the hair, the composition and the lace collar. The ear, the mouth, and the modelling of the cheek, recall Salviati's "Portrait of a Boy" (photo. Alinari), in the Poldi-Pezzoli.

Condition: slightly damaged and repainted on the face and the hands.

Date: 1530-1545.

Reprod. Photo. Braun 34029; Löwy, 354; fig. 6, article by Voss cited below.

Bibl. Engerth, *Gemälde*, p. 253; catalogues of 1895 and 1896 cited above; B. F. P. R., p. 177; Voss, *Italienische Gemälde des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts in der Galerie des Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseums zu Wien, Zeitschrift f. bildende Kunst*, 1912, pp. 41-43; Gamba, *Alcuni ritratti di Cecchino Salviati, Rassegna d'arte*, IX (1909), pp. 4 f. Cf. also for the Poldi-Pezzoli portrait, *idem*, 1911, p. 9.

52. MADONNA AND LITTLE ST. JOHN

Oil on wood. H. 1.14, w. .88.

Bought in 1780 from Major Sturione. Originally ascribed to Andrea. Engerth thought that it recalls Bugiardini. Crowe and Cavalcaselle remark,

without a shadow of reason, that this picture is "by Pontormo or Rosso imitating not so much Andrea as Franciabigio."

Bibl. Rosa, I, 122, No. 7; Engerth, I, 292; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Borenius, VI, 197.

367. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Once in the possession of Karl VI; ascribed to Perugino in the inventory of 1628; to Pontormo by Engerth (*Gemälde,* pp. 253 f.). According to Wickhoff it is a much repainted portrait of himself by Lomazzo for the medal of Prospero Fontana.

Bibl. Wickhoff, *Die Gemäldegalerie,* Wien, 1907, p. 87.

VOLTERRA

Municipio

DESCENT FROM THE CROSS

Once in the cathedral. Erroneously ascribed to Pontormo in the edition of the *Cicerone* edited by Bode and Fabriczy. The picture is by Rosso.

Reprod. Photo. Brogi 15339.
Bibl. *Der Cicerone,* ed. 1904, III, 788.

CATALOGUE OF PICTURES ATTRIBUTED TO PONTORMO IN CATALOGUES OF SALES AND LOAN EXHIBITIONS

CATALOGUE OF PICTURES ATTRIBUTED TO PONTORMO IN CATALOGUES OF SALES AND LOAN EXHIBITIONS

Andros de la Rue Collection

PORTRAIT OF THE DUKE OF URBINO WHEN A BOY

He is dressed in black and holds a bird and a rattle.
Oil on wood. H. 37½ in., w. 22¼ in.

Sold at Christie's, June 16, 1911, to Buttery for £105.

Art Prices Current (1910-1911), p. 555; *Auction Sale Prices,* XIII (1911), p. 377.

De Beurnonville Collection

686. A SAINT

She wears a pink robe and orange mantle and stands in a desert holding a palm and a stone. In the background, St. Anthony (?).
Oil on copper. H. .21½, w. .16.

Sold in 1881 for 90 francs.

Mireur, *Dictionnaire des ventes,* II, 101; *Catalogue des tableaux de M. le Baron de Beurnonville,* Paris, 1881, p. 423.

687. PORTRAIT OF VITTORIA COLONNA

She wears a black robe, a yellow cape, a hood, and about her waist, a cord.
Oil on wood. H. .30, w. .23.

Sold for 200 francs.

Mireur, *loc. cit.;* catalogue cited above, p. 424.

Brandus Galleries

139. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

H. 24½ in., w. 19½ in.

Sold at the American Art Association to S. Jackson for $55, April 6-7, 1911.

Collection of John Watkins Brett

825. MADONNA AND CHILD

Sold at Christie's, April 5, 1864.

Catalogue of Pictures of John Watkins Brett, London, 1864, p. 61.

Collection of the Late Charles Butler

84. THE NAMING OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

The infant St. John is presented by a serving-maid to St. Elizabeth and to Zacharias. The latter writes the child's name on a scroll. In the background, other figures.

Oil on wood. Diameter: 19½ in.

Ascribed to the Florentine School. Painted on what is called in the catalogue a "mazer bowl," with a coat of arms on the back. This, in all likelihood, is the "piatto da parto" that Berenson ascribed to Pontormo in this collection. It would appear to be a replica of the composition of the birth-plate, now in the Uffizi (No. 1198), and it is perhaps identical with the plate now in the Palazzo Davanzati, in Florence, and therefore an authentic work of Pontormo's. Sold at Christie's in 1911 to Agnew for £78 15*s.*

Catalogue of Pictures by Old Masters, the Property of the Late Charles Butler, p. 12.

111. PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN

Dressed in dark clothes and cap. In his right hand he holds his gloves; in his left, the hilt of his sword.

Oil on wood. H. 40 in., w. 26 in.

Sold at Christie's, July 7, 1911, to Gooden and Fox for £73 10*s.*

Art Prices Current (1910-1911), p. 615; *Auction Sale Prices,* XIII (1911), p. 377. *Catalogue of the Butler Sale,* p. 21.

AN ECCLESIASTIC

Exhibited (No. 187) at the Loan Exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1883.

Graves, *Loan Exhibitions,* II, 942.

Collection of Marquis Cerbone Pucci

HOLY FAMILY

Ascribed to Pontormo by Lanzi. Its present whereabouts is unknown.

Lanzi, *History of Painting,* trans. Roscoe, London, 1828, I, 203 f.

Collection of John Clark

129. HOLY FAMILY

Synopsis of Collection of Old Italian Paintings of Mr. John Clark, New York, 1839, p. 10.

133. HOLY FAMILY

Catalogue cited above, p. 11.

187. CIRCUMCISION

Catalogue cited above, p. 11.

Colworth Collection

41. COSIMO DE' MEDICI

Bust figure, dressed in a cardinal's cloak (?) and hat. Inscription: "Cosmus Medices Pater Patriae."
H. 6½ in., w. 5 in.

Sold at Christie's, July, 1892, to Macquoid for £20.

Catalogue of the Collection of Hollingworth Magniac, London, 1892, p. 15.

Collection of the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia

THE PENITENT MAGDALEN

Bust figure, profile left, head turned three-quarters left. In her raised hand she holds a handkerchief to her face.

Ascribed to Luini; by Liphart to Pontormo with whose work, however, it has no connection.

Reprod. Catalogue cited below, p. 30.

Les anciennes écoles de peinture dans les palais et collections privées russes, Exposition "Staryé Gody," St. Pétersbourg, 1909, Van Oest: Bruxelles, 1910, p. 28; *L'Arte,* 1909, p. 122.

Collection of Rev. E. H. Dawkins

65. GENTLEMAN IN ARMOUR WITH A DOG BY HIS SIDE

H. 43 in., w. 31½ in.

Sold at Christie's, February 28, 1913, to Parsons for £23 2*s*.

Art Prices Current (1912-1913), p. 158; *Auction Sale Prices,* XV (1913), p. 53; Sale Catalogue, p. 16.

Dellafaille Collection

76. "PORTRAIT OF GODEFROY DE BOUILLON"

Bust figure in red jerkin and brown hood. He looks slightly to the left.
Oil on wood. H. .70, w. .55.

Sold in Cologne, March 4, 1913.

Katalog von Gemälden meist älteren Meister aus dem Nachlasse Dellafaille, Köln, 1913, p. 11.

Doetsch Collection

107. MADONNA AND SAINTS

Canvas. H. 86 in., w. 73½ in.

A copy of the San Michele Visdomini altar-piece. The catalogue claims that the present picture is Pontormo's original. It differs in no wise from the panel now in San Michele except that one sees, in the illustration given in the catalogue, no writing on the book held by St. John and no letters on the rock on which he is seated. Sold, at the Doetsch sale, June 22-25, 1895. Its present whereabouts is unknown to me. For a discussion of the probable authenticity of the panel now in San Michele, see the Catalogue Raisonné of Authentic Pictures, under Florence, San Michele Visdomini.

Reprod. Catalogue cited below, p. 31; small cut, Reinach, *Répertoire,* II, 138.
Catalogue of the Collection of Henry Doetsch, London, 1895, p. 31.

Collection of J. S. W. S. Erle Drax

43. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN

H. 30 in., w. 21 in.

Sold at Christie's, February 19, 1910, to Glen for £21.

Art Prices Current (1909-1910), p. 86; *Auction Sale Prices,* XII (1910), p. 86.

Collection of the Comte D'Espagnac

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Sold for 474 francs in 1868.

Mireur, *loc. cit.*

Eszterhazy de Galantha Collection

MADONNA AND FEMALE SAINT

Ascribed to Pontormo. Its present whereabouts is unknown to me.

Catalogue de la galerie des tableaux, Eszterhazy de Galantha, Vienna, 1844, p. 41.

Collection of William Graham

418. MADONNA AND CHILD

Sold at Christie's in April, 1886.

Guggenheim Collection

956. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN

The Virgin is seated in a chair and wears a cherry-coloured robe and blue mantle. She holds in her arms the Christ Child, who stretches out his hand towards a bird that the little St. John presents to him.

Oil on wood. H. .89, w. .72.

Sold in Venice, September 30-October 4, 1913.

Catalogue de la collection de M. le Comm. M. Guggenheim, Venice, 1913, p. 54.

Alexandre K. Collection

HOLY FAMILY

Sold in 1897 for 295 francs.

Mireur, *loc. cit.*

Lanfranconi Gallery

27. PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Life-size, half-length portrait of a middle-aged man, turned three-quarters to the left, the head turned towards the spectator. He has a short, reddish beard and wears a black robe and cap. In his right hand he holds a quill as he turns the leaves of a folio which lies on the table before him. On the table, a green cover. Dark background.

Oil on wood. H. .95, w. .80.

The catalogue speaks of this panel as "a characteristic work, nobly conceived — the head and hands, superbly modelled, are uncommonly plastic and stand out from the dark background of the whole." It is really a late sixteenth century copy of the portrait falsely ascribed to Pontormo in the Corsini Collection, in Florence. Sold, October 21-23, 1895. It was later in the Sedelmeyer Collection (No. 111).

Reprod. *Sedelmeyer Catalogue*, p. 127.

Katalog der Gemälde-Galerie Lanfranconi, Köln, 1895, p. 8; *Catalogue of the Sedelmeyer Collection*, p. 127.

Lasalle Collection

HOLY FAMILY

Withdrawn from the Lasalle sale in Vienna, 1827, at 210 francs.

Mireur, *loc. cit.*

Collection of the Earl of Leicester

PART OF THE CARTOON OF THE "BATTLE OF THE CASCINA"

Attributed to Pontormo and exhibited (No. 74) at the British Institution, in 1854. This is of course the famous grisaille by an unknown hand of a part of Michelangelo's "Battle of the Cascina."

Graves, *loc. cit.*

Collection of Sir John Leslie

IPPOLITO DE' MEDICI

Exhibited (No. 257) in the Loan Exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1877.

Graves, *loc. cit.*

Collection of Lord Methuen

PORTRAIT OF THE PAINTER

Exhibited (No. 119) in the Loan Exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1877.

Graves, *loc. cit.*

Collection of R. P. Nichols

STUDY OF A HEAD

Exhibited (No. 155[a]) at Leeds in 1868.

Graves, *loc. cit.*

Collection of the Duke of Northumberland

BIRTH OF ST. JOHN

VIRGIN AND CHILD

Exhibited at the British Institution, in 1857, where they were numbered 38 and 53 respectively.

Graves, *loc. cit.*

Collection of the Marquis Ferdinando Panciatichi Ximenes d'Aragona

BUST OF A WOMAN

Oil on wood. Oval: h. .85, w. .63.

Sold in Florence, April 3, 1902.

Catalogue des tableaux de la galerie de feu le Marquis Ferdinand Panciatichi Ximenes d'Aragona, Florence, Borgo Pinti 68, 1902, p. 8.

Reiset Collection

PORTRAIT OF CARUCCI BY HIMSELF

Sold in 1870 for 580 francs.

Mireur, *loc. cit.*

Rezzonico Collection

PORTRAIT OF GUICCIARDINI

Not a portrait of Guicciardini and not by Pontormo. Sold in Milan in 1898.

Reprod. Catalogue cited below, pl. 4. Reinach, *Réper.*, I, 520.
Catalogue of the Rezzonico Sale, 1898.

Schevitch Collection

14. MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE

The Christ Child seated on the knees of his mother passes the ring over the finger of St. Catherine, who leans upon her wheel. The Virgin is dressed in a red robe with yellow sleeves; on her head, a green veil. St. Joseph, his hands upon a staff, contemplates the scene.

Oil on wood. H. .66, w. .52.

Once in the Castellani Collection. Sold at Georges Petit's, April, 1906.

Catalogue des objets d'art composant la collection de M. D. Schevitch, Paris, 1906, p. 55; *Catalogue de la succcssion Alessandro Castellani, Vente, Hotel Drouot*, mai 12-16, 1884, No. 1098, p. 290.

Collection of Richard Smith

ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

H. 24½ in., w. 17½ in.

Sold for £4 15*s.* 6*d.*

Art Prices Current (1907-1908), p. 195.

Collection of the Earl of Wemyss

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

Exhibited (No. 108) in the Loan Exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1886.

Graves, *loc. cit.*

Collection of Henry Willett

76. PORTRAIT OF A LADY IN A PINK DRESS

Oil on wood. H. 9½ in., w. 6½ in.

Sold at Christie's, April 10, 1905.

Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures by Old Masters of Henry Willett, London, 1905, p. 13.

Two pieces of a "predella" representing various saints and six small pictures representing saints and angels and ascribed to the "School of Pontormo" were sold by the Hospital of the Innocents in 1853 to the Baron Vagnonville for 150 "lire." Cf. Archivio degl'Innocenti, Firenze, Filza No. 73.

CATALOGUE OF LOST PICTURES

CATALOGUE OF LOST PICTURES

ANNUNCIATION

Painted while Jacopo was still with Albertinelli and praised by Raphael, according to Vasari (VI, 246). Fate unknown.

DEAD CHRIST

With two angels holding torches and, at the sides in two "tondi," two prophets. Date: about 1513.

This was the "predella" to Andrea's "Annunciation" for the monks of San Gallo, which is now in the Pitti. Rosso is also said to have worked on this panel (Vasari, VI, 247). Fate unknown.

THREE TRIUMPHAL CARS

Painted for the Compagnia del Diamante, a society of which Giuliano de' Medici was chief. These cars represented "Youth," "Manhood," and "Old Age." Jacopo decorated them with various scenes, in monochrome, from the Transformations of the Gods. Andrea Dazzi chose the subjects. The general design of the cars was due to Raffaello delle Vivuole, Il Carota, Andrea di Cosimo Feltrini and Andrea del Sarto. At the time Vasari wrote (1565) these paintings were in the possession of Pietro Paulo Galeotti, the goldsmith (VI, 250-252). They have since disappeared. By a typographical error the number of these cars is given as five in my *Dessins*, p. 35.

SEVEN TRIUMPHAL CARS

Painted for the Compagnia del Broncone of which Lorenzino was chief. These cars formed part of a pageant which was planned by Jacopo Nardi and which represented: "The Age of Saturn," "The Reign of Numa Pompilius," "The Consulate of Titus Manlius Torquatus," "The Triumph of Cæsar," "The Empire of Augustus," "The Time of Trajan," "The Golden Age." On the first car Pontormo painted "Legends of Saturn." Vasari does not give any details about the paintings on the second and third cars, on which we may infer that there were scenes from the lives of Numa and Torquatus. On the fourth car Jacopo painted "The Triumph of Cæsar." We have no

details about the decorations of the fifth and sixth cars which must, however, have represented scenes from the lives of Augustus and Trajan. On the seventh car there were figures in relief by Bandinelli, among them "The Cardinal Virtues." All these panels have been lost.

Date: 1515.
Vasari, VI, 252-255; cf. G. Pelagi, *Capitoli della Compagnia del Broncone,* Firenze, 1872, the original manuscript of which is in the Biblioteca Moreniana.

TRIUMPHAL ARCH

Mythological subjects among which a "Pallas and Apollo." This arch was raised at the head of the Via del Pelagio. The woodwork was by Baccio da Montelupo. Ruined in Vasari's time.

Date: 1515.
Vasari, VI, 255.

LUNETTE OF GOD THE FATHER

This formed the upper part of the fresco of the "Madonna and Saints," once in San Ruffillo. The lunette was destroyed when the fresco was transferred to the Chapel of San Luca, in the Annunziata.

Fresco.
Date: 1512-1513.
Vasari, VI, 256.

CHRIST AS PILGRIM

Painted over the entrance of the Women's Hospital between Piazza San Marco and Via San Gallo, opposite the nuns of St. Catherine.
Fresco: monochrome.

The convent of St. Catherine of Siena was in the Via degli Arazzieri and is now the Comando Militare. Borghini states that this fresco occupied the space over the door of the Priests' Hospital. Pontormo's figures were thought in later times to be by Andrea del Sarto (Cinelli). They were destroyed in rebuilding in 1688.

Date: 1513-1514.
Vasari, VI, 256; Bocchi, ed. Cinelli, p. 19; Borghini, ed. 1730, p. 393.

ARMS OF THE LANFREDINI

These were painted for Bartolomeo Lanfredini over a doorway in a passage between Ponte Santa Trinita and Ponte alla Carraia. They were supported by two "putti."

Bronzino placed this work among the earliest enterprises of Pontormo (VI, 259). Gamurrini mentions a Bartolomeo di Jacopo Lanfredini as living

about 1500 (*Istoria genealogica*, Florence, 1685, IV, 273-275). He also mentions a Bartolomeo di Lanfredini who was alive about 1530 and who seems to have been the Lanfredini who wrote two letters to Cosimo I under the dates of April 21 and May 9, 1541 (*Indice mediceo*, Classe 26, Vol. 20, c. 13; Vol. 21, c. 25). Of Jacopo's decoration no trace remains. Cf. Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 392. It is interesting to note that Feltrini, with whom Jacopo was often associated in his earlier years, decorated the façade of the houses of Lanfredino Lanfredini (Vasari, V, 207).

Date: 1512-1513.

SANTA CECILIA

Lunette over the door of the Compagnia di Santa Cecilia, in Fiesole.
Fresco.

Destroyed before 1730 in opening a new door.

Drawings: first sketch for the figure of the saint, Uffizi 6694 (fig. 12; photo. F. M. C.); study for the whole composition, Corsini 124161 (fig. 11; photo. Anderson, Rome, 2823; fig., *Emporium*, 1907, p. 270).
Date: 1517-1518.
Vasari, VI, 257; Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

PORTRAIT OF GIOVANN' ANTONIO LAPPOLI

Begun by Lappoli himself and finished by Pontormo. When Vasari wrote this panel was in the possession of the heirs of Lappoli. In Bottari's time it had disappeared.

Vasari, VI, 260.

THE SON-IN-LAW OF BECUCCIO BICCHIERAIO AND A FRIEND

The fate of this portrait is unknown. By a typographical error it is called in my *Dessins*, "Portrait de Becuccio Bicchieraio avec un ami" (p. 36). Becuccio himself was a friend of Andrea del Sarto's. It was for him that Andrea painted his "Madonna and Six Saints," now in the Pitti (No. 307).

Vasari, VI, 260.

FUNERAL BANNERS OF BARTOLOMEO GINORI

Painted during the lifetime of Ginori; a series of twenty-two with the "Virgin and Child" above, and below, the arms of the family. Two others from the middle of the series represented St. Bartholomew.
Oil on white taffeta; the arms on a coloured "balzana."

These, for their style, size, and lightness, set a new fashion. Their fate is unknown.

Date: 1517-1518.
Vasari, VI, 260.

PIETÀ

With the Virgin weeping and in the air two "putti," one holding the chalice of the Passion, the other the head of Christ. On one side of the composition, St. John with arms outspread, on the other, St. Augustine in episcopal robes; in his left hand, a crosier.

Fresco.

Painted in a chapel near the entrance of the garden of the monks of San Gallo, outside the San Gallo gate. This fresco was destroyed when the convent and church were pulled down.

Vasari, VI, 260 and note.

ARMS OF GIOVANNI SALVIATI

Painted for Filippo Spina in the courtyard of his house opposite the main entrance. The escutcheon was supported by two standing "putti" and surmounted by a heraldic cardinal's hat.

Salviati was born in 1490 and made cardinal by Leo X on July 1, 1517.

Date: 1517-1518.
Vasari, VI, 261 and note.

SANT' AGOSTINO

Seated in the act of blessing; above him two "putti" flying.

Painted for the little church of the Sisters of San Clemente, in Via San Gallo. In Borghini's time it was believed to be still in the convent. According to Milanesi, it was later in the refectory of the nuns who were, it should be noted, of the Order of St. Augustine. Lost after the suppression of the convent. Cinelli (p. 7) calls this picture by mistake a "San Giorgio." His error was corrected in the Milan edition of Vasari (XII, 30, n.).

Date: 1521-1523.
Vasari, VI, 265 and note; Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 394; Richa, *Chiese fiorentine*, V, 262.

PIETÀ

With nude angels, the landscape drawn in part from an engraving of Dürer's.
Date: 1521-1523.

Painted for certain merchants of Ragusa. Its fate is unknown.

Vasari, VI, 265.

MADONNA AND CHILD

In Vasari's time this picture was in the house of Alessandro Neroni. Borghini mentions that certain children formed part of the composition. Its fate is unknown.

Vasari, VI, 265; Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

LOST PICTURES

MADONNA AND CHILD

Painted for certain Spaniards. Many years later this picture, which was about to be sold to a second-hand dealer, was bought at the instance of Bronzino by Bartolommeo Panciatichi. When Raffaello Borghini wrote it was in the house of Carlo Panciatichi. It has since been lost or is unidentified.

Date: 1521-1523.
Vasari, VI, 265; Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

NATIVITY

In the darkness Joseph was represented holding a lantern.

Painted for the Prior's room at the Certosa. Its fate is unknown.

Vasari, VI, 269.

PORTRAIT OF A LAY BROTHER OF THE CERTOSA

Half-figure; painted in fresco in the church of the monastery on the right side of the altar of San Benedetto. This lay brother was said to be one hundred and twenty years old.

Date: about 1525.
Vasari, VI, 269; Moreni, *Notizie*, II, 145.

GOD THE FATHER AND FOUR PATRIARCHS

In the vaulting of the Capponi Chapel, Santa Felicita.
Fresco.

Destroyed in rebuilding the organ-loft in 1766.

Date: 1525-1528.
Vasari, VI, 271 and note; Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

MADONNA

Painted for Lodovico Capponi and hung in his bedroom. Vasari says it resembled in style the decorations of the Capponi Chapel. Its fate is unknown.

Date: 1526-1528.
Vasari, VI, 272; Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

PORTRAIT OF LODOVICO CAPPONI'S DAUGHTER

Bust figure with the attributes of the Magdalen. We have no trace of this picture.

Date: 1526-1528.
Vasari, VI, 272; Borghini, *loc. cit.*

PORTRAIT OF ALESSANDRO DE' MEDICI

Vasari felt that in this portrait Jacopo was still under the influence of Dürer. The terminal dates for this work are 1524, the date of Alessandro's arrival in Florence, and 1527, the date of his flight to Rome. Its fate is unknown. For Pontormo's later "Portrait of Alessandro," see, in the Catalogue of Authentic Pictures, Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

Date: 1524-1527.
Vasari, VI, 273.

PORTRAIT OF IPPOLITO DE' MEDICI

Represented with his dog Rodon; an excellent likeness according to Vasari. Long identified erroneously with the "Portrait of Guidobaldo of Urbino" by Bronzino, in the Pitti (No. 149). See the preceding. Its fate is unknown.

Date: 1524-1527.
Vasari, VI, 273.

PORTRAIT OF NICCOLÒ ARDINGHELLI

Niccolò di Pietro Ardinghelli was born in 1503. He was cameriere of Leo X, canon of Santa Maria del Fiore, bishop, secretary to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and he was created cardinal in 1543. He died on August 24, 1547, and was buried in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Guasti, *Manoscritti Torrigiani,* Firenze, 1878, p. XII; Lami, *Sanctae Ecclesiae Florentinae Memorabilia,* I, 303-308, note by Salvino Salvini). The fate of this portrait is unknown. In Palazzo Torrigiani, in Florence, there is a "Portrait of Ardinghelli," ascribed by Berenson to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.

Drawing: possible sketch, Uffizi 443 verso (photo. F. M. C.).
Date: 1538-1543.
Vasari, VI, 273.

POMONA

In a niche opposite the portal of the house of Filippo del Migliore in Via Larga. Vasari felt that in this work Jacopo had begun to free himself from his imitation of Dürer. No trace of the figure now remains.

Date: about 1526.
Drawing: possible study, Uffizi 6570 (photo. F. M. C.; D. G. U., pl. XIX).
Vasari, VI, 274.

RAISING OF LAZARUS

Vasari narrates that, unable to buy the Pontormos in Borgherini's famous room while the latter was in exile in Lucca, Giovambattista della

Palla gave Jacopo a commission for a "Lazarus" to be sent to the King of France for whom Della Palla acted as agent. Giovambattista's career as a picture dealer was ended in 1530 and he died in prison at Pisa not long after. Vasari praises highly the realism of this picture. It probably never reached France and its fate is unknown.

Date: 1529-1530.
Drawing: possible study for the figure of Lazarus, Uffizi 6723 (fig. 113; photo. F. M. C.).
Vasari, VI, 274; Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

PORTRAIT OF GIOVANNI GUIDICCIONI

Milanesi, basing his opinion on a letter of Annibal Caro to Guidiccioni on October 12, 1539 (quoted by P. E. Visconti in the *Giornale arcadico,* LXXX, p. 93), states that Pontormo was in Rome at work on a portrait of the former on the date of the letter. But the artist mentioned by Caro (*Lettere del Commendatore Caro,* Venezia, 1791, No. 6) was *Pastermo* which was turned by Visconti into *Pontormo.* I have been unable to determine what Caro really wrote; the whereabouts of the manuscript of this letter is unknown to me. We have no further evidence that the portrait in question was by Jacopo. In any case, its fate is unknown. Cf. Appendix II, Doc. 24.

Vasari, VI, 274.

PORTRAIT OF CARLO NERONI

Painted, according to Vasari, just after the smaller version of the "Martyrdom of St. Maurice." The conjectural identification of this lost portrait with the "Portrait of a Man," in the Uffizi (No. 1220), is without foundation.

Vasari, VI, 275.

PORTRAIT OF FRANCESCO GUARDI

Painted according to Vasari during the siege of Florence. Guardi was represented in soldier's costume. The cover of this portrait, which represents "Pygmalion and Galatea," is now in the Barberini Gallery in Rome (No. 83). Vasari ascribes it erroneously to Bronzino. The portrait itself has disappeared.

Date: 1530-1531.
Drawing: possible study, Uffizi 463 F. (fig. 120; photo. Houghton; D. G. U., pl. XX).
Vasari, VI, 275; *Dessins,* pp. 36, 71, 106.

NOLI ME TANGERE

Painted for Alfonso Davolo, Marchese del "Guasto," from a cartoon of Michelangelo's. The latter recommended Jacopo as the painter best able

to execute the picture and Pontormo made so great a success of his work that he received a commission for a replica from Alessandro Vitelli, the condottiere. Fra Niccolò da Magna (Nicolaus von Schomberg), Governor of Florence and Bishop of Capua, acted as intermediary in the negotiations for the cartoon. In regard to these we have three letters of Figiovanni, the first to Michelangelo in Florence, dated April 11, 1531 (Frey, *Dichtungen*, p. 508, Reg. 25 and 27); the second, in the autumn of 1531 (?); the third, just after October 27, 1531 (Frey, p. 509, Reg. 28), in which the phrase—"The Archbishop of Capua is very glad the master is to carry out your cartoon in your house"—seems to indicate that Pontormo actually painted this picture under Michelangelo's supervision. The cartoon itself passed later into the possession of Cosimo I. Its fate like that of this panel is unknown.

Date: 1531-1532.

Drawing: Thode believes, I think without reason, that the drawing No. 367 of the Clough Collection (Frey, 77 and 78) is Michelangelo's sketch.

Documents: for the letters that place this picture about 1531, see Frey, *Briefe an Michelangiolo*, p. 309 f.; *idem, Dichtungen*, pp. 327, 509; B. F. D., II, 93.

Reprod. Two copies exist in the store-rooms of the Uffizi, one attributable to Battista Franco who made, about 1540, a cartoon from the cartoon of Michelangelo (VI, 575) which passed into the Guardaroba of Cosimo I. Franco's cartoon was on a larger scale than Michelangelo's, as also was the picture that he painted from it. Cf. fig. in Gamba's article cited below. Bronzino's "Noli me tangere," in the Louvre, is also derived from Michelangelo's design.

Vasari, VI, 276, 575, VII, 277; Gamba, *Una copia del "Noli me Tangere" di Michelangelo, Bollettino d'arte*, III (1909), p. 148 ff.

NOLI ME TANGERE

Replica of the preceding for Alessandro Vitelli who had it placed in his house in Città di Castello. Cf. the foregoing. This replica has been lost.

Vasari, VI, 277.

PORTRAIT OF AMERIGO ANTINORI

The beauty of this portrait won for Jacopo the commission to paint the "Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici," now in the Johnson Collection. The Antinori portrait has disappeared or is unidentified.

Vasari, VI, 278.

MADONNA

Given by Pontormo to Rossino, the mason who helped him build his house. When Vasari wrote it was in the possession of Alessandro, son of Ottaviano de' Medici. It has disappeared or has not yet been identified.

Vasari, VI, 280.

LOST PICTURES

PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL GIULIO DE' MEDICI

This was a copy of part of Raphael's "Portrait of Leo X with Giulio de' Medici and Cardinal de' Rossi," painted in 1517-1518 and now in the Pitti. Pontormo gave his copy to Rossino and later on it passed into the hands of Alessandro d'Ottaviano de' Medici. Its fate is unknown. Andrea del Sarto also made a copy, now lost, of the head of Giulio for Ottaviano de' Medici, who gave it to the Bishop de' Marzi, as well as a complete copy which was long supposed to be the picture in the Museum of Naples. De Rinaldis in his catalogue of that collection gives this latter copy to Giulio Romano. Bugiardini too painted a modified copy of Raphael's portrait for the cardinal Innocenzio Cibo (VI, 206 f.).

Vasari, VI, 280.

PORTRAIT OF MARIA SALVIATI

Painted while Pontormo was at work at Castello. This portrait must have been executed after August 2, 1537, the date of the battle of Montemurlo, and December 12, 1543. On the latter date Maria Salviati died in the Villa of Castello (Anguillesi, p. 215). It has been lost or is unidentified. Several portraits of Maria Salviati are known. A bust portrait with the inscription: MARIA SALLVIATTI, the face turned three-quarters right, the shoulders and head draped in white, in the collection of the Erzherzog Ferdinand von Tirol (Catalogue, No. 392; Kenner, *Die Porträtsammlung des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Tirol, Jahrbuch d. kunsthis. Samml. d. Allerhöch. Kaiserhauses,* XVIII (1897), 160; pl. XXVII, fig. 22); the portrait painted by Vasari towards 1557 in one of the medallions of the fresco in the Palazzo Vecchio, "Cosimo Proclaimed Duke in 1537" (fig., Conti, *La prima reggia,* p. 43), which is derived from the same original; a portrait mentioned by Allegrini (*Regiae familiae Mediceorum*), "ex duc. Salviati." But what relation they bear to Pontormo's portrait has not yet been determined. The portrait most likely to be related to Jacopo's lost original is to be seen among Vasari's frescoes of the Quartiere di Leone X, in the Palazzo Vecchio (photo. Alinari 4446).

Vasari, VI, 282.

MADONNA

According to Vasari the picture was given by Cosimo I to a Spaniard. Milanesi conjectures that this Spaniard was the Duke of Altamira. It is also not impossible that this is the picture referred to, in the Inventorio generale a capi della Guardaroba, No. 30, 1553-1560, p. 58, as having been given by the duchess to Don Giovanni di Figana. Cf. Appendix II, Doc. 33 and 34.

Vasari, VI, 284 and the document cited above.

MADONNA

Found in Jacopo's house after his death and sold by his heirs to Piero Salviati. The fate of this picture is unknown.

Vasari, VI, 288.

DECORATIONS IN THE MEDICEAN VILLA OF CAREGGI

A "loggia" in the courtyard. At the foot of each division of the vaulting, an allegorical figure: "Fortune," "Justice," "Victory," "Peace," "Fame" and "Love." In the vaulting were flying "putti" with various animals in their hands.

Oil on plaster.

These decorations were rapidly executed at the command of Alessandro de' Medici. Pontormo designed the figures and the ornaments, but Bronzino executed all the figures except the "Love," and the ornaments were painted by Jacone, Pierfrancesco di Jacopo and others. In his "Life of Bronzino" Vasari mentions a "Prudence" instead of a "Victory." These decorations have vanished. The second "loggia" that Pontormo was to have painted was never undertaken on account of the death of Alessandro. Cf. the following.

Date: finished December 13, 1536.

Drawings: sketches for the "putti" of the vaulting, Uffizi 458 (photo. F. M. C.).

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 281; VII, 596; Moreni, *Notizie istoriche dei contorni di Firenze*, Firenze, 1792, I, 59; *La villa medicea di Careggi, Memorie e ricordi*, Firenze, 1888; *Dessins*, pp. 21, 37, 41, 50, 56, 73, 74, 102, 134, 169.

DECORATIONS IN THE MEDICEAN VILLA OF CASTELLO

The "loggia" of the courtyard to the left on entering. In the middle of the vaulting, flying "putti," "Saturn with the Sign of Capricorn," and "Mars Hermaphrodite with the Sign of Leo and the Virgin." In the lunettes of the vaulting, Pontormo painted nude allegorical female figures of "Philosophy," "Astrology," "Geometry," "Music," "Arithmetic" and a "Ceres." In certain medallions one saw stories appropriate to each figure. These were framed in decorative designs.

Oil on plaster.

The ornaments were by Bronzino, Jacone, Pierfrancesco di Jacopo and others after designs by Pontormo; the figures were by the master's own hand. Eight years after Pontormo died this "loggia" was already ruined by humidity. When Biscioni wrote, only the contours of the figures remained. All trace of them has now disappeared.

Date: 1538-1543.

Drawings: possible sketch for the "Saturn," Uffizi 6510; possible study for one of the allegorical figures, Uffizi 6584 (fig. 132; photo. F. M. C.); possible study for the "Astrology" or the "Geometry," Uffizi 6586 (fig. 133; photo. Pini); possible study for the "putti," Uffizi 6592; study for the "Mars Hermaphrodite," Uffizi 6630 (D. G. U., pl. XXII); possible sketches for various motives, Uffizi 6644.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 282, 452; VII, 596; Borghini, *op. cit.*, p. 395; Varchi, *Due Lezzioni*, p. 109; Moreni, *Notizie*, Firenze, 1792, I, 103; *Dessins*, pp. 21, 37, 41, 50, 56, 74, 90, 121,

168, 169, 172, 194, 201. For the villa, cf. *Vedute delle ville e d'altri luoghi della Toscana,* Firenze, 1757; De Benedetti, *Palazzi e ville reali d'Italia,* Alinari, 1911; Anguillesi, *Notizie storiche dei palazzi e ville appartenenti alla I. et R. Corona della Toscana,* Pisa, 1815.

FRESCOES IN THE CHOIR OF SAN LORENZO IN FLORENCE

They represented: "The Creation of Adam," "The Disobedience of Adam and Eve," "The Expulsion from Paradise," "Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law," "Christ in Glory," "The Four Evangelists," "The Tilling of the Soil," "The Sacrifice of Cain and the Death of Abel," "The Benediction of the Sons of Noah and the Building of the Ark," "The Ascension of the Blessed," "The Fall of the Damned," "The Resurrection," and "The Deluge."

Fresco.

These paintings occupied Pontormo during the last ten or eleven years of his life. The lower part of the "Deluge" and the "Resurrection" were finished by Bronzino after his master's death (Vasari, VI, 288, n.; VII, 602; Moreni, *op. cit.,* II, 119). They were never popular and in 1742 they were destroyed in rehandling the choir (Manni, *I Carri di San Giovanni,* gives the date as 1738). For the general arrangement, see p. 75. Pontormo, in his Diary, refers repeatedly to his work on these frescoes; see Appendix III. For the number of days he mentions having worked in the choir, see the Synopsis of the Diary.

Date: 1546-1556.

Drawings: study for the Eve of the "Expulsion," Uffizi 6715 (fig. 137; photo. Houghton); first thought for the "Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law," Uffizi 6508; study for the same, Uffizi 6749 (fig. 139; photo. Pini; F. M. C.); finished study for the "Christ in Glory," Uffizi 6607 (fig. 138; photo. Houghton; fig., Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*); sketch for the Adam of the same, Uffizi 6733; finished study for the "Four Evangelists," Uffizi 6750 (fig. 140; photo. F. M. C.); sketch for the "Tilling of the Soil," Uffizi 6535 (fig. 143; photo. F. M. C.); sketch for the Adam of the same, Uffizi 6615; finished study for the "Sacrifice of Cain and the Death of Abel," Uffizi 6739 (fig. 141; photo. Houghton); first thought (reversed) for the Abel of the same, Uffizi 15665; study for the Cain of the same, Uffizi 6746 (fig. 142; photo. F. M. C.); sketch for the "Fall of the Damned," Uffizi 6568 (photo. F. M. C.); first thought for the same, Uffizi 15666; sketch for certain figures in the "Ascension of the Blessed," a drawing in the Academy at Venice (fig. 147; photo. Braun, Venice 78029); sketches for certain figures in the "Resurrection," Uffizi 462 (photo. F. M. C.) and Uffizi 6684 (photo. F. M. C.); sketch for a single figure in the same, Uffizi 17410; sketches for certain figures in the "Deluge," Uffizi 6528 (fig. 146; photo. F. M. C.), Uffizi 6752 (fig. 145; photo. F. M. C.), Uffizi 6753 (fig. 144; photo. F. M. C.), Uffizi 6754 (photo. F. M. C.; *Dessins,* pl. VIII), Uffizi 17411 (photo. Houghton; D. G. U., pl. XXIIIB), Louvre 947 (photo. Braun 63207); sketches for single figures in the same, Uffizi 6560 (fig. 148; photo. Houghton; F. M. C.), Uffizi 6640 (photo. F. M. C.), Uffizi 6650, Uffizi 6679 (fig. 149; photo. F. M. C.), Uffizi 6714. In Pontormo's Diary there are many diminutive sketches (cf. fig. 152) relative to these frescoes, but we cannot tell to what subject they refer. With them correspond the following sketches in the Uffizi: Nos. 6528, 6560, 6580, 6724, 6745, 6753, 6760 (fig. 153; photo. F. M. C.), 15666. Borghini (p. 396) mentions that M. Baccio had a drawing of the San Lorenzo frescoes but of which he does not say. Bocchi (p. 361) speaks of it with great enthusiasm and at great length and from him we learn that it was a "Last Judgment" and a "Martyrdom of San Lorenzo," which he preferred to the fresco of the same subject. From him we also learn that M. Baccio was Baccio Valori. In the Louvre there are two large drawings, ascribed to Bronzino, which are undoubtedly copies of parts of the "Deluge." In the Archives of the Innocents (Filza 17, p. 345) mention is made of a large drawing of many nudes in black chalk which was once in the possession of the Hospital and which may have had some relation to these frescoes.

Documents: I have examined the following accounts without, however, finding any reference to Pontormo's work in the choir: Archivio di San Lorenzo, Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Armadio F; Debitori e Creditori E., 1542-1549, F. 1549-1557, G. 1555-1560; Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Depositeria Generale, Nos. 391, 392, 393, 394, 522, 523, 573, 583, 770, 771, 943, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 1653, 1654. We find in No. 394, p. 101, reference to the salary of a helper, Bastiano del Gostra. See Appendix II, Doc. 27.

Bibl. Vasari, VI, 284-287; VII, 602; Bocchi, ed. 1677, pp. 515-517; Richa, V, 29; Borghini, p. 396; Il Milizia, II, 135; Del Migliore, p. 166; Moreni, II, 112-115; Lapini, *Diario fiorentino;* Ciangogni, *Memorie istoriche;* Lanzi, I, 164; Carocci, *La Basilica Laurenziana, Arte e storia,* IV (1885); Rosini, V, 59, 62; Reiset, *Notice des dessins au Louvre,* Paris, 1879, p. 60, No. 190, note; B. F. D., I, 327; II, 141, 142, 144, 147, 148, 149, 152, 153, 154; Gamba, *I disegni di Jacopo Carucci,* 1912; *Dessins,* pp. 21, 26, 30, 37, 41, 56, 75, 86, 106, 107, 117, 119, 121, 132, 133, 138, 140, 155, 158, 166, 167, 172, 183, 188, 199, 206, 231, 232, 250, 251, 253, 258, 265, 267, 268, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 286, 287, 294, 298, 299, 302, 331, 349; *On Certain Drawings,* pp. 17, 18, 22, 23.

MADONNA AND CHILD

The Inventario generale a capi della Guardaroba, 1553-1560 (p. 58) mentions that on August 24, 1557, a large picture representing the Virgin by Pontormo was given by the Duchess to Don Giovanni di Figana who took it to Milan. See Appendix II, Doc. 34. The same picture is mentioned in the inventory made by Giuliano del Touaglia in 1553. See Doc. 33. This is perhaps the "Madonna" mentioned above which Vasari says Cosimo I gave to a Spaniard. Its fate is unknown.

MADONNA

Once in the possession of Carlo Panciatichi but now lost.

Borghini, *Il Riposo,* ed. 1730, p. 394.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Note on the Apprenticeship of Pontormo

Vasari's story of Pontormo's youth is full of inconsistencies and contradictions. He begins by saying[1] that, after the death of Jacopo's grandfather in 1506 (his father having died in 1499 and his mother in 1504), the boy remained *several years* in his native town with his grandmother who had him taught reading, writing and the elements of Latin. It was his grandmother, according to Vasari, who brought him to Florence when he was thirteen to put him in charge of the Pupilli. But, since Jacopo was born in 1494, this journey would have occurred, on Vasari's own showing,[2] in 1507, that is, *only a year* after his grandfather's death. We know now from a document that I have discovered that, as a matter of fact, Jacopo was placed in the care of the Pupilli on January 24, 1508 (Old Style: 1507), so that it is evident that, in regard to that event at any rate, Vasari's chronology is practically correct. Vasari, however, goes on to say that a *few months later* Bernardo Vettori[3] put the boy under Leonardo's instruction. But we know by documentary evidence that Leonardo left Florence late in the spring of 1508. It is therefore apparent that, if Jacopo studied with him at all in 1508, he was either sent to Leonardo's workshop immediately after being placed with the Pupilli or, if we take Vasari's expresssion "a few months later" literally, he could have remained with Da Vinci hardly more than eight or ten weeks in all.

After Leonardo, Jacopo had for master — so Vasari's story runs — Albertinelli, Pier di Cosimo and finally, in 1512,[4] Andrea del Sarto. On the next page Vasari remarks that Jacopo went to study in Andrea's "bottega" of his own accord immediately after the latter had finished the San Filippo Benizzi frescoes which we know was in 1510. Vasari also says that Raphael praised a little "Annunciation" painted by Jacopo *while he was still with Albertinelli.* Raphael left Florence on September 5, 1508. Vasari's statement, therefore, implies that between the end of January, 1508 (Old Style: 1507), when he was placed with the Pupilli, and September of the same year, Pontormo had spent several months unemployed, was apprenticed to Leonardo, passed from his care into the "bottega" of Albertinelli and had made sufficient progress there (though only fourteen in May, 1508) to be able to paint an interesting little picture with his own hand, an achievement which would have in it, we may remark in passing, no element of the incredible, if Pontormo really began his apprenticeship with Albertinelli in 1503, as we have been led to conjecture on the basis of the citation of a Jacopo Carucci in a document relative to the purchase of a house in the Gualfonda by Albertinelli.[5]

Vasari is even more inconsistent in regard to the length of time that Jacopo spent with Albertinelli. He states that Pontormo was left without

[1] VI, 246. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] Appendix II, Doc. X.

a master when Mariotto went to Viterbo to finish a picture begun there by Fra Bartolommeo. According to the books of the Order, this picture, a "Madonna with Dominican Saints," was finished, not by Albertinelli, but as late as 1543 by Fra Paolino da Pistoia.[6] Colasanti[7] was led to assume, on account of the discrepancy between the documents and Vasari's narrative, that the latter's story of Albertinelli's journey to Viterbo had no claims to critical consideration. Vasari, however, not only says that Mariotto began a picture of his own there, then went to Rome and returned to Viterbo, but he goes out of his way to record gossip to the effect that Mariotto died[8] soon after his return to Florence as a result of loose living in the South. Such gossip, usually a reflection of much repeated tales, is often more convincing in the "Lives" than details given by Vasari about pictures which he had sometimes never seen. We know that Albertinelli died on November 5, 1515;[9] we also know that he was in Florence on January 5, 1513, when his contract with Fra Bartolommeo was dissolved.[10] More than that, Vasari himself tells us that for Leo X's elevation to the Papacy (March 11, 1513) Mariotto received a commission to paint the new Pope's arms for the Medici Palace in Via Larga. The journey to Viterbo, therefore, was not later than 1515 nor earlier than March, 1513. But before the latter date Pontormo was already fairly launched in his career as an independent painter. One is tempted to make Pontormo's release from Albertinelli's "bottega" coincide with the moment when Mariotto decided to give up painting and become an innkeeper.[11] But on inferential grounds, Knapp, Gruyer, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, all place that adventure in 1512 or 1513 at which date Jacopo had already passed through his last experience as an apprentice and had left the workshop of Andrea. We may, however, remark that, whatever the date at which Albertinelli opened his public house, his apprentices were probably released at that moment from further legal obligations to him. We also cannot help noticing that among the surviving works of Albertinelli, many of which are dated, there is no picture now extant, so far as I know, that bears a date falling between 1507 and 1510. Moreover, before we accept the date suggested by the critics whom we have mentioned, it might be well to recall that Vasari mentions that Mariotto received certain commissions for pictures in the spring of 1513. In any case the determining of the date at which Pontormo left Mariotto is of less importance to our study than the obvious fact that, when after a time Mariotto did reopen his "bottega," Pontormo continued to follow with interest the work done there. Of this the "San Luca Madonna" is sufficient indirect evidence.

Leonardo was in Florence from 1503 to May 30, 1506, from August, 1507 to the late spring of 1508 and again, it would appear, in the spring of 1509 and towards the end of 1510. His longest stay in his native city, after his first visit to Milan, was between 1503 and May, 1506. If, as is highly probable, Pontormo was still in Albertinelli's care during those earlier years, he could have worked with Leonardo only during one of Da Vinci's later visits to Florence. Vasari's story implies, as we have seen, that Jacopo was apprenticed to Leonardo between the end of January, 1508, and the late spring of

[6] Marchese, *Memorie*, II, 96 f.; Vasari, IV, 225.
[7] *Diario di Jacopo Carucci*, *Bull. d. soc. filol. romana*, II, 49.
[8] Vasari, IV, 225.
[9] *Idem*, 226, n.
[10] Marchese, II, 17, 22, 65, 77, 488.
[11] Vasari, IV, 222.

the same year. We have no evidence, however, that Leonardo kept a "bottega" during any of his later visits to Florence. It is accordingly not unlikely that Pontormo never actually became a pupil of the great master but merely studied, on his own account, like the young Raphael, works of Leonardo's then in Florence, among them the unfinished "Battle of Anghiari." The influence of that masterpiece is visible in Pontormo's "Martyrdom of the Theban Legion" which was painted many years later. We should also note that in some of Pontormo's earliest drawings the hair is blown out like a flame — a peculiarity of sketches by Leonardo dating from the years 1505-1510.

The exact date at which Pontormo studied with his third master cannot be determined. We may conjecture that he passed through the "bottega" of Pier di Cosimo sometime between 1508 and 1510 but the only foundation we have for such an opinion is the fact that Vasari's statement in regard to Pontormo's interest in Piero's art is corroborated by certain characteristics of Jacopo's early portraits and religious pictures which recall definite tendencies of Piero's later work.

Pontormo's contact with Andrea del Sarto closes his experience as an apprentice. Vasari states, as we have seen, that he went of his own accord to stay with Andrea because he greatly admired the San Filippo Benizzi frescoes which the latter had just finished.[12] These frescoes were completed in the autumn of 1510 and dated by Andrea himself A. D. MDX.[13] Elsewhere Vasari says that it was in 1512 that Pontormo was first associated with Andrea.[14] We must choose between these two dates and the following are some of the considerations that will influence our choice. For Pontormo's fresco over the portal of the Annunziata I have found payments that were made as early as November, 1513,[15] which prove that he must have begun the work in the late summer of that year. News of the election of Leo X reached Florence in the second week of March,[16] 1513, and the Servites, who were "Palleschi," began decorating their church in honour of the great event without delay. Vasari implies that after Pontormo had finished the cartoons for the fresco in question Andrea refused to have him in his workshop any longer. If Pontormo became Andrea's pupil in 1512 we must suppose that it took Jacopo only a year and a half, at the most, to make Andrea's manner his own, and we could desire no more forcible evidence of Jacopo's masterly insight into Andrea's conception of form than is furnished by his manner of drawing during the next six years. To the evidence that his drawings furnish we must add Vasari's own statement that Jacopo helped Andrea with "molti quadri ed opere,"[17] although no picture of Andrea's dating from this period, and among them we count the "San Gallo Annunciation," the "San Godenzo Annunciation," the Dresden "Marriage of St. Cathe-

[12] *Idem*, VI, 247.

[13] *Idem*, V, 66 f.

[14] *Idem*, VI, 246.

[15] A. S. F., Convento 119, No. 705, 113 verso. Appendix II, Doc. 12.

[16] On the evening of the day of the election; cf. Landucci, p. 336; G. Capponi, II, 316. In the Libro del Camarlingo just referred to I have found, under the dates of March 11 and 12, 1513, the following entries: "spese straordinarie p di decto lire sei soldi sei sono p tagj et pouere p fare festa della creatizione del papa de' Medici porto — 6 — 6; p. 81 verso: spese straordinarie a di decto lire 13. soldi 10 sono p dipignere l'arme del papa de Medici e duna bandiera posta incupola porto Anto dipintore — 13 — 10."

[17] VI, 247.

rine,"[18] the "Adoration of the Magi,"[19] in the courtyard of the Annunziata, and the "Madonna with the Infant St. John," in the Borghese, shows the slightest trace of Pontormo's touch. Vasari[20] definitely names but one picture painted by Jacopo for Andrea: the lost "predella" of the "San Gallo Annunciation." And he adds that Bronzino had heard Pontormo himself say that Rosso also worked on this "gradino." Evidently we must not take too literally Vasari's "molti quadri ed opere." On the same page Vasari says that Jacopo had not been *much time* with Andrea before his progress was such that one would have thought that he had practised art for many years.[21] In all probability he had. For, if he was a mere child when he entered Albertinelli's workshop, he already had behind him in 1512 more than nine years of apprenticeship. The groundwork of his sense of form had been laid with Mariotto and, to an infinitely less degree, with Pier di Cosimo. The "God the Father" and the "Santa Veronica" of the Pope's Chapel are Albertinellian with a hint in them of the study that Jacopo had given to figures sketched by Michelangelo during the years that were chiefly given to the "Battle of the Cascina." The "San Luca Madonna" carries on the tradition of Mariotto. Indirect evidence, then, would lead one to conjecture that Jacopo entered Andrea's "bottega" in the autumn of 1510 or in the spring of 1511.

In his "Life of Masaccio" Vasari states that Pontormo, like all Florentines of his generation, studied the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel.

[18] Goldschmidt (*Pontormo, Rosso und Bronzino*, Leipzig, 1911 [Dissertation], p. 43) sees without reason evidence of Pontormo's hand in this picture.

[19] Libro del Camarlingo (1509-1512), p. 106, v., 108, 111 v. (November 5, 1511; November 21, 1511; December 12, 1511.)

[20] VI, 247.

[21] Colasanti (article cited above, p. 47) states without sufficient evidence that Pontormo entered Andrea's workshop in 1510.

APPENDIX II

Documents Relative to the Life of Pontormo

Doc. I. Firenze: Biblioteca Nazionale. Priorista di Monaldi, p. 267 verso.

La famiglia de Carucci già di Monte Pilli e di Terzano castella che furono nel poggio di San Martino in Valdarno le quali nel 1340 cederono ai fiorentini sendo fatti cittadini e di loro fu Giorgio di Benci nel 1365 Gonfaloniere e di questi il p° nel 1349 fu Taddeo di Caruccio e l'ultimo nel 1529 fu Bonifazio di Donato Carucci o Chiarucci. L'arme loro è una banda celeste intraverso sghembo dentrovi tre rose bianche in campo d' oro.

Doc. II. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Consorteria. San Giovanni; Gonfalone Chiave, I, 94 verso.

Carucci da Colle. Giov. Battista di Mario di Bartolomeo 19 Nov. 1614. Mario Alberto di Giov. Battista di Mario 22 Aple, 1662.

Doc. III. Firenze: Biblioteca Nazionale. Codice Riccardiano 1894, p. 132.

S. Croce sotto le volte nella stanza che fu già Compagnia di Loreto: "Filiorum Carucci 1298."

Doc. IV. Firenze: Biblioteca Nazionale. Codice Riccardiano 1187.

Ruggieri di Taddeo Carucci uno degli Ufficiali di Torre, 28 feb. 1380.

Doc. V. Firenze: Biblioteca Marucelliana. Codice C 1, p. 278.

Ruggieri di Taddeo Marucci (*sic*) vinaiuolo nel Marzo 1386 e Aprile 1387 della Signoria di Firenze. The "Priorista del Calamai" mentions the same person: Ruggieri di Taddeo Carucci vinaiolo in Firenze, Marzo-Aprile, 1386-7.

Doc. VI. Firenze: Biblioteca Nazionale. Codice Araldico, p. 129.

Carucci, Francesco Pianellaio a 1348 Sep° in S. Pancrazio.
Carucci, Ruggiero a 1460 Sep° in S. Croce e S. Remigi Linaiolo.

On the same page the arms of Francesco and Ruggiero are displayed as in figs. I and II respectively.



Fig. I



Fig. II

Codice B VII of the Biblioteca Marucelliana gives (p. 14) the arms of the Carucci as: "stelle gialle in campo azzurro sotto sei listre a sghembo rosse e bianche." Cf. Doc. I where the arms of the family are given as in fig. II, but with a different arrangement of the tinctures.

Doc. VII. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Consorteria: Santa Croce, Vols. I and II. Gonfalone Bue: Vol. I, p. 83.

Charucci

✢ Charuccio di Stefano di ruggieri adi 2 di maggio 1481.
✢ Giovañj di Taddeo di ruggieri adi 9 di febbraio 1481.
✢ S Ruggierj di Taddeo adi p° di genaio 1495.
Jacopo di S Lucha di Ruggieri adi p° di Giugnio 1513.
✢ Alex° di G^ni di Alexãdro adi . . .
Zanobi —— adi 7 di marzo 1505.
✢ Taddeo, Bart° } di —— G^ni di Taddeo adi . . . adi . . .
Taddeo, Piero } di S Ruggierj di Taddeo adi 17 di Dicembre 1531. adi 12 di Aprile 1535.

Idem, Vol. II, p. 26 verso.

Carucci

✢ Jacopo di S Luca di Ruggieri p° giug° 1513.
✢ Zanobi di Giovanni di Alessãdro 7 marzo 1505.
Taddeo et Piero } di S Ruggieri di Taddeo 17 xbre 1531. 12 Ap'le 1535.
Oratio, Ruggieri, Grazia } di Pieri di Ruggieri

Doc. VIII. Firenze: Archivio degl'Innocenti. Entrata e Uscita D. 1527-1528, p. 54.

A m^{a} lisabecta fu di pāglo Carucci l. sept, s. sei.

Entrata e Uscita Z, 1530, p. 52. X doctobre 1530. A m^{a} lisabetta dọña fu dipāglo Carucci D. dua, come allibro Rosso.

Idem, p. 54. A m^{o} Ant^{o} distefano lombardo l. vētocto sono p lui a Checci Carucci da avere p condisse p spesi di bestiame stetti in valdimevole.

Doc. IX. Firenze: Biblioteca Marucelliana, Codice, B VII. 14, p. 11.

Cappella dei Carucci nel Carmine donata ai Della Moriana da Lionardo e Jacopo di Giovanni Carucci nel 1624.

Doc. X. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Santa Maria Novella; Convento 102, No. 89: Ricordi, p. 14.

M^{o}. ccccc.viiij^{o}

Ricordo Come oggi q^{o} di 26 dimaggio 1509, si fece uno sinda|chato nel capĺo del nost^{o} cō^{to} Rogato p mano di S lorenzo di thō di| lorenzo pogginj notj^{o} alpalagio delpodesta: c̄h alpñte sta nella bo|ctegho di S Lorenzo violj. nel qual sindacato furno electj & Cre|ati sindachi M^{o} Alexandro dibartholomeo dipiero luchini et M^{o}| Ant^{o} dimichele dulino et frē Lorenzo dibernardo alpñte spp'o^{r}e| del cō^{to}. apotere liberamēte vendere & ītrafacto finire Vna nost^{a}| Casa posta nella via digualfonda cō suo vocāblj & cōfini. Laqual| gia fu venduta dal nost^{o} cō^{to}, adi 10. dap'le 1503 auita di M^{o} Alexā|dro & auita di Jacopo carucci. Come appe Carta p mano di S piero| dauīcj notj alpodesta. Et q^{a} vendita libera si fe: pc̄h elnost^{o} cōuē|to / era strecto da molti debiti / & altre necessita. et maxīe ppotere| pagare uno restante didebito / c̄h elmost^{o} cō^{to} haueua Colmūnistero| delpadiso / p ilpodere c̄h daloro sicōpo / posto atubiana Comune di| prato. Et p vigore didcō sindachato. Noi M^{o} Alexādro dibartho|lomeo / & M^{o} Ant^{o} dimichele / & frē Lorenzo dibernardo / sindachi pdcj: vendemo libere & ītrafacto / sotto di 26 dimaggio sop^{a} dcō| la sop^{a} dcā Casa posta Jngualfonda / Amariotto dipinctore & figli|uolo dibiagio battiloro / p se & p sua heredi / p pgio di ff octāta la^{r}ghi| do^{o} īo^{o} et nō piu alt^{o} et p^{o} pche dcō Mariotto doueua aspecta| re tucto elrestante del tp̄o della vita di dcō M^{o} Alexādro: et pche| Anchora dcō mariotto haueua gia Compato da dcō M^{o} Alexādro| lujafructo di dcā Casa c̄h segli potessi puenire durāte lasua vita| Intāto c̄h Jnfra quello che el nost^{o} cō^{to} nebbe p la vendita frā auita| di M^{o} Alexādro et di Jacopo caruccj. c̄h nebbe ff quarāta larghi doro| īo^{o} et ff octāta larghi doro ī o^{o} c̄h alpñte ne pagha dcō mariotto| alnost^{o} cō^{to} viene el nost^{o} cō^{to} haue^{r}la uēduta preggio giusto & ragio|neuo^{le} ptūche sia vēduta libera & ītrafacto: et p^{o} maxīe: prispecto| dellume tolto dalla Comp^{a} delpellegrino alle finestr^{e} didrieto.

Vendita di una casa in Gualfonda libera a libro Pagonazo St^{o} G a 3 et in G^{le} a 42

E qualj| ff octāta larghi dcō mariotto gli de pagare jn q° modo cioe. ff 30| larghi do° īo° depaghare ī suauna scripta p'uata fcā di mano| di m° Ant° dimichele sindacho p̄dcō di Consentimēto de dua altrj| sindachi cōpagnj adcā vēdita: sotto scripta diloro mano & sotto| scripta di mano didcō mariotto dipīctore. ratificādo ciaschū dinoi| sotto scriptj / atāto q̄to īessa scripta si contiene. Laquale scripta e ap̄p̄sso| didcō mariotto: et q̄sta scripta p'uata se facta: p̄ch̄ prima: c̄h̄ sene faccia| publeco strum̄to / si de daroma trarre anost^a spesa una licētia & cōfir|matiōe didcā vendita: et hauuta & obtenuta la dcā licētia: sidefare| lauēdita publica asua gab̄bla p̄ publicho strum̄to / & pmano di publico| notj° et Insullo strum̄to fcō & publecato. dcō Mariotto: de dare| & finire dipagare elrestante de dcj ff octanta larghi doro ī o° che| sono ff cinq̄ta do° ī o°. Et noi sindachi p̄dcj promettiamo p̄ dcō co^to| di S^a ma^a no^lla adcō Mariocto cōpatore la difesa gnāle di dcā Casa| aluj venduta / obligādo tuctj nostrj benj / p̄sentj & futurj p̄ la difesa di| dicta Casa venduta solam̄te. Et spetalm̄te promettiamo. p̄la dcā di|fesa elpod^re cōpato dalle monache delpadiso posto īquel diprato| p̄ gli oblighi & debitj del quale: spetialmēte & īpte se venduta la| decta Casa: et q̄ disotto simettera lordine del cōtracto colpagm̄to.

Doc. XI. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Officiali dei Pupilli: Deliberationes et Partitiones, 1507-1508, No. 119, c. 114.

M c c c c c vij
Pro her^te Bartholom̄ei Jacobj Pictoris de pūtormo
Die 24 Januarij
Licētia vendendi mobilia

Prefati officiales tutores dicte hereditatis seruatis &c. dederūt et concesserūt licētiam Bart° aionis actori dicte hereditatis| vendendi mobilia dicte hereditatis.

Die xxiiij Maij 1508
Redditio rationū

Prefati officiales simul cohadunati et prestito juramēto seruatis &c.| viso quōd libro tempto p̄dictum Bartholomeū angeli della|ione actorem Sig^to A tempto p̄ dicta heredit et suscriptione| facta indicto libro 8 manu Petri zenobij demarignollis et omnibus| ineo cōtentis dictū librū et orationē ineo descripte appbaverūt| et declarauerūt dictū Bartholomeū remississe coputū sue| admtrationis et omnia alia fecisse inptibus oportuna.

Die xvj Junij
Fideiuxio

Guido ormannogii dedetis civis Flor presēti et ementi dicti Bartho|lomei dangeli dellaione prēsē et fide . . . penes dictos off et pmi . . .| dictis offs licet absentibus ei et mihi eorū not^s peis recipientib̄| se facturū et p̄dictis Bartholom̄eus tegerunt peum hinc adunū| anñ p̄x^e futurū redder bonum cōputum et de om̄ia alia facere adq̄| tenetur secū or̄di flort alias desuo p̄p° attendere obseruare| promisit, rogans &c. Actūubisop^a presētib̄ Benedicte bart° depuccinis et| Ant° Iusti famulo.

Die xxi Junii
Appbatio

Prefati off simul cohadunati &c. seruatis &c. dictū guidonē fideiuxorē| appbauerunt.

Doc. XII. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Convento dei P.P. Serviti della Il^ma Annunziata di Servi di Maria: Convento 119, No. 705, p. 113 verso.

Novembre 1513

A muraglia adi dtō ff uno doro p^o Jacopo di Bt^o dipintore p parte di dipintura sopra larcho dela porta —— L — 7 —— s

Marzo 1513

Idem, p. 122 verso.

A muraglia adi dtō L sette suō p dipignare larme di deimedici sopra a larcho dela porta p^o Jacopo di Bt^o —— L — 7 —— s

Marzo 1514

Idem, p. 124 recto.

A spesse de muraglia adi dtō ff quatro doro inoro ff tre p^o andrea dagnolo dipintore p oro p iñorare e capitolli de sua quadri adipinto ff uno doro p^o Jacopo dipintore sopra alarcho delauolta sopra ala porta di sono p inorare q̄lle figure —— L — 28 —— s

Aprile 1514

Idem, p. 127 recto.

A spesse di muraglia adi dtō ff dua doro suō p parte di dipintura sopra alarcho dela porta p^o Jacopo dipintore —— L — 4 —— s

Giugno 1514

Idem, p. 132 recto.

A muraglia adi decto lire cinquāta sei sono p resto della di pintura sopra larcho della porta della ciesa porto iachopo dipintore e ādrea c̄h mese aoro cōtāti —— L — 56 —— s

Doc. XIII. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Convento dei P.P. Serviti della Il^ma Annunziata di Servi di Maria: Convento 119, No. 705, p. 149 verso.

✠ dicēbre 1514

A p spese dimuraglia iochopino dipintore adi decto lire uēti una sono c̄h tāti gneue ha dare el cōvēto p il quadro fa nel ciostricino e resto pago fra mariano porto el p. priore cōtāti —— L — 21 —— s

Aprile 1515

Idem, p. 161 verso.

A Jachopino dipintore adi decto lire quatordici, sono per parte di dipintura del quadro del chiostricino porto el p. priore contanti lire quatordici —— L — 14 —— s

Maggio 1515

Idem, p. 165.

A Jacopino dipintore a di decto lire secte; sono per parte di dipintura del quadro del chiostricino porto contanti lire 7

Marzo 1516

Idem, p. 192 verso.

A Jachopino dipintore adi decto lire tre soldi 10, sono per parte di suo conto porto contanti lire 3 soldi 10

Maggio 1516

Idem, p. 200 verso.

A Jachopino a di detto lire diciasette dipintore, sono per parte di suo conto porto contanti lire 17

Giugno 1516

Idem, p. 202 verso.

A Jachopino dipintore a di detto lire dicia sette soldi 10 sono per loro per c chapitegli del quadro porto contanti lire 17 soldi 10

Doc. XIV. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. San Lorenzo al Monte: Debitori e Creditori: 1524-1532. Convento 51, No. 81, p. xlviij.

M. D. xxiiij

Mro Jacopo da pontormo depintore Di Dare p insino adi 15 di apille 1524 Duct xxxa L ija.

p cassa in go a 49 como si vede in gle Biancho sto L a 3 Duct 30 L 2 s —

20 septembre Duct xxo p cassa ingo a 49 chome si vede in gle Biancho sto L a 8. Duct 20 L — s —

30 octobre Duct xxo p cassa in go a 58 chome si vede in gle Biancho sto L a 23 Duct 20 L — s —

1526 Marzo adi xxviiijo Duct vijo p cassa in go a 79 chome si vede in gle Biancho sto L a 30 Duct 7 — L — s

Octobre adi v Duct ija L — s — p cassa in go a 79 chome si vede in gle Biancho Sto L a 34 Duct 2 L — s —

Decembre adi xv Duct iiijo L — s — p cassa in go a 79 si vede in gle Biancho Sto L a 40 Duct — 4 L — s — d

Marzo adi xviii Duct vj L — p cassa in go a 79 chome si vede in gle Biancho Sto L — a 45 Duct 6 L —

Apille adi 5 Duct v — L — p cassa in go a 88 chome si vede in gle Biancho Sto L a 47 Duct 5 — 1— s

1527 decembre adi 5 Duct vo L v. s xiiijo p cassa in go chome si vede in gle Biancho sto L a 55 Duct 1 — L 5 s 14

febraio adi xxviiijo Duct vjo L — s xv p entrata in go a 90 chome si vede in gle Biancho Sto L a 58 Duct 6 L — s 15 — d.

Doc. XV. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. San Lorenzo al Monte: Giornale L. Convento 51, No. 16, p. 3 verso.

1524 adi 16 aplie

Mro Jacopo di bartholomeo da pontormo dipinctore de dare p cassa Duct ff trenta L dua hebe dato p avr̄ ī noue volte como ī quado f a 65 Duct 30 L 2 s — d.

MDxxiiij adi xx d. setem̄b

Idem, p. 8 verso.

Mro Jacopo da pontormo dipentore di dare p cassa Duct dieci ebe de contanti dal p. priore como se vede ī qo di cassa sto f a 68 Duct 10 L — s — d.

e piu adi 3 di dicembre Duct. dieci ebe dal p. pıore como inqo sto f a 69 Duct 10 L — s — d.

fa Duct 20 L — s.

M D xxv adi 30 doctobre

Idem, p. 23 destra.

Mro Giacopo da pontormo dipintore di dare p cassa Duct. x porto lui di contanti p parte como si vede in quado di cassa a 78 Duct. 10 L — s — d.

E piu adi 20 di dicembre Duct x porto lui ebe dal pcūr p parte como si vede in quado di cassa sto f. a 81 Duct 10 L — s — d.

fa Duct 20 L — s.

M D. xxv

Idem, p. 30 destra.

E piu Duct uno L sei pagamo a mro Jaco dipintore p tanti colori e la cornice p fare lo cenaculo de la despensa cōmo in qo a 86 Duct. 1 L 6 s — d.

mro Jacopo inpentore di dare p cassa Duct sette ebe dal pcūr e fu adi 4 di Junio como in qo d cassa a 86 Duct 7 L — s —

Idem, p. 34 sinistra.

mro Giacopo dipintore di dare p cassa Duct dua ebe dal p cur e fu adi 12 de agosto como sivede in qo di cassa a 89 Duct. — 2 L — s.

Idem, p. 40 destra.

mro Giacopo impentore di dare p cassa Duct quatro ebe dal pcuratore e fu adi 15 di nouembre 1526 come ingo de cassa Sto f a 94 Duct 4 L — s.

Idem, p. 45 destra.

mro Jaco dipintore di dare p cassa Duct sei e fu adi 4 di genaio ebe dal pcur como si vede ingo di cassa Sto f a 96 Duct 6 L — s.

Idem, p. 47 verso.

mro Jacopo dipintore di dare p cassa Duct. cinqū ebe dal pcur como in qo di cassa Sto f e fu adi 15 dapłe a 101 Duct 5 L.

M xxvij *(sic)* adi 5 decembre

Idem, p. 55 recto.

mro Giacopo da pontormo dipintore di dare p cassa Duct uno L v s 14 p Sta 6 difarina e paia 2 di galloni pago lo pcur a fra Jero et a fra franco como ingo di cassa sto f a 108 Duct 1 L 5 s 14.

M D. xxvij

Idem, p. 58 recto.

Mro Jaco da pontormo dipintore di dare p entrata dadi 28 di febraio 1524 Duct dua L quato s dieci sono p la valuta di some 8 di flasconi ebe in piu volte e p una meza catasta di legno p L 8 ½ eli flasconi a s 25 la soma posta in firenze a Duct. 2 L — 4 s 10.

E piu adi 3 dilugio 1526 L tre s x sono p la valuta di uno b̃ar di vino di gtto de la montagna beuealo quēto añze vectura e gabella Duct — L 3 s 10.

E piu da di 14 di nouembre 1526 p sino adi 17 decto Duct dua L vi s gindici sono p la valuta di una cattasta di legne ebe in dua volta e some 3 di flasconi posti in firenze añza victura e gabella Duct. 2 L 6 s 15.

fa Duct 6 L — s 15.

Doc. XVI. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. San Lorenzo al Monte: Quaderno di Cassa F. Convento 51, No. 40, p. 65 destra.

M. D. xxiiij

26 deto (Maggio)

A mro Jacopo di btholomeo dapontormo depintore Duct trenta L dua hebe dal peuratore in 9 volte p parte da di 4 di Febraio 1522 p insinc adi 10 dapille 1524 supra ala depintura fa nel claustro Duct — 30 L 2 s — s.

M. D. xxiiijo adi 16 dagosto

Idem, p. 68 destra.

Amro Jacopo dipintore duct porto lui Duct. 10 L — s — d.

M D. xxiiijo adi 29 doctobr

Idem, p. 69 destra.

adi deto Amro Jacopo di pintore duct deci hebe lui cōtanti dal p priore p parte Duct. 10 L s — d.

Idem, p. 78 destra.

Capsa cōtrāssta di haū p sino adi 30 de oct-1525 duct dieci pagami a Mro Jacobo depintore porto lui p parte Duct 10 L — s — d.

M D xx *(sic)*

Idem, p. 81 destra.

20 decto A mro Jaco dipintore Duct dieci ebe dal p cūr̄ fu adi 19 d. decēbr Duct 10 L — s — d.

M. D. xxvj adi 29 d. marzo

Idem, p. 86 destra.

A mro Jacopo dipintore Duct sette ebe dal pcūr̄ a fu adi 4 de Junio Duct 7 L — s — d.

adi 25 de agosto 1526

Idem, p. 89 destra.

A mro Jacopo depentore Duct Dua hebe dal peurator et fu adi 12 dagosto Duct 2 L — s — d.

adi pmo di Decembrio 1526

Idem, p. 94.

L tre s quatordeci d sei p gabella de legne et frasconi mandati a mro Jaco depītore e pto de la casa sua Duct — L 3 s 14 d 6.

Idem, p. 94.

a m^ro Jac^o Dapontormo depētore Duct quat^o hebe dal ꝑcuratore et fu adi 15 Novēbrio 1526 a suo cōto Duct 4.

adi 10 di febraio 1526

Idem, p. 96 destra.

A m^ro Jac^o Depentore dapontormo Duct sei et fu adi 4 Digenaio hebe dal ꝑcuratore Duct — 6 L — s — d.

adi 5 dap'le 1527

Idem, p. 101.

A m^ro Jac^o Depētore Duct cinqū e fu adi 15 ap^ile hebe Dal ꝑ curatore porto lui Duct 5.

adi 27 di Nouēbrio 1527

Idem, p. 108.

Decēbrio 6 A m^ro Jac^o Depētore: Duct uno L cinqū s xiiij hebe S^ta 6 de farina et paia. 2. degaline pago el ꝑ curatore
Duct — 1 L — 5 s. 14 d.

Doc. XVII. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Monastero di Santa Felicita di Firenze. Convento 83, No. 115: Libro Ricordanze 1485-1528, p. 21.

R^do come oggi questo di digēnaio 1490 Ant^o di Bnādo paghanelli a dato a affitare la capella della nūtiata posta nella chiesa di Scta Felicita ꝑ ladrieto della casa de' ba^rbadori alpūte di deto ant^o a f buono di . . . busini ꝑtē fiorētino ꝑ di. L laño.

Marginal note:

Comperò il d^o Antonīo la d^a Capp^a da Barbadori e da Bernardo suo figlio fu venduta a Ludovico Capponi ꝑ scudi 200.

Doc. XVIII. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Accademia del Disegno, No. I, Registro: Elenco dei Pittori, p. 10 verso.

✠ Jachopo d. Btolomeo dapuntormo dip^re 1525.

Doc. XIX. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Medici e Speziali, No. 11: Libro Verde; Matricola per la Città, p. 27 sinistra.

Die V mēsis iunij 1526

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Jacobus bart^ei Jacobi de pūtormo pictor in| civitate florentiae uolens uenire ad magistratū| dicte artis et describi inter ał matriculatos ꝑp^ea ꝑmisit et iuravit et obligavit renumpsians et rogans, &c.

Nil debet soluere benefitio dicti Jacobi bart^ei eius patris matriculati in libro pagonazo a 181.

Doc. XX. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Catasto: Estimo del Contado, No. 5. Quartiere San Giovanni, 1520; Popoli 1-95, No. 128, p. 57 sinistra.

Jachopo di btlomeo d. Jacopo da puntormo a dua siti da fare possi ī ditto popolo invia Laura e ce da p° via Se° zanoby orafo 3° spedale dinociēti cōpo dallo spe dalle di nociēti p ff 100 dr° rt° S franc Sasoly adi 15 de marzo 1529: et di poij a murato una p suo abitare. p fare la bottega —— et di poy īvero ītutto p fare il suo abitare.

Andati a Jac° detto p uso ——

Doc. XXI. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Catasto: Libro a Parte 1534. Cittadini a parte: Quartiere Santa Maria Novella e San Giovanni 1534, No. 11. Quartiere San Giovanni: Gonfalone Chiave, p. 448 sinistra.

Jac° di btolom̃eo di Jac° dipītore dapūtormo. Sustanzie.

p° alibro No. 349. Una chasa nelpp° dis° p^ro maggiore| in via laura a p° via 2° zanobi di| ghabiello orafo 3° gino scharpellino da| settigniano 4° orbatello p suo uso — e leuata dasobb. S^to G^i No 5 (56) dallui detto c̃he murata dinuovo.

Doc. XXII. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Archivio mediceo del Principato: Carteggio Universale, filza 567, c. 187 e 225.

Letter of Costantino Ansoldi to Francesco de' Medici[1]

Ser^mo Principe

Supplico sua Alteza come già molti anni Intesi che Soa Alteza, overo il gran Duca fece publicare una crida in Fiorenza per sapere ove si trovasse Il ritratto della bona memoria del Duca Alessandro, promettendo bona remuneratione, et perch'io sono statto creatura del Detto Duca Alessandro mio Signore et ancho sempre desideroso di farme conoscer alla soa Alteza per suo amorevolissimo servitor, subito mi mossi a pensare nella mente mia se potessi In qualche modo ucnir in cognitione di detto retratto, venendome In memoria ch' Il detto Duca mio Signore me lo donò mentre era vivo, et doppo la sua morte m'è venuto In memoria ch'io lo donai a una Signora Thadea Malaspina, qual fu sorella dell'Ill^ma March^a di Massa che fu Madre dell'Eccmo Principe hoggidi di Massa, et con qsto mi partei da Casalmaggiore

[1] Gualandi (III, 62-70) published this letter from a copy made by F. Moisé in 1851 in which the latter falsely transcribed the name of the artist as Jacopo da Ponte. Gualandi, unable to make a satisfactory hypothetical contact between the lives of Bassano and Alessandro de' Medici, concluded that Ansoldi was guilty of gross misrepresentation. Carnasecchi reprinted the document somewhat more accurately (*Rivista d'arte*, VI [1909] 34-36) and indicated its connection with Pontormo. Both versions are in varying degrees inexact. It was Cosimo I who had advertised for the lost portrait of his ancestor but, since Ansoldi writes (1571) after the retirement of Cosimo (1564), he addresses himself to the "principe reggente" Francesco de' Medici.

patria mia nell'anno del S^re 1568. adi. 10. di 9bre che fu la vigilia di S^to Martino. per andar a camino di trovar tal ritratto, desiderando presentarlo alla soa Alteza, parte per raffarmare la mia antica servitù, parte per haver qualch'aiuto dalla mane di soa Alteza per soccorrere alli bisogni di cinque mie figliole femine, quali sono da marito et senza roba et senza madre, feci capo a Ferrara a una S^ra Iulia Malaspina figliola della detta S^ra Thedea, dalla Intesi che detto ritratto si trovava nella guarda robba del Principe di Massa, per ch'essa S^ra Thadea era morta in casa del detto Principe, nella qual'erano restate tutte le sue spolie. Io iñteso questo feci ricapito in Fiorenza persuadendomi che la servitù ch'io teneva con Il S^r Iulio de Medici qual io ho alevato et fu consignato et racc^to nelle mie mani dal detto Duca Aless^ro havesse ad operare con l'Ill^mo Principe di Massa per essersi alevati loro insiema che con il suo meggio detto ritratto pervenesse nelle mie mani, ma Intendendo che Il S^r Iulio era in Pisa mi transferì da Fiorenza a Pisa, et havendoli narrato la causa della mia venuta pregandolo volessi recuperare detto ritratto et farmene un dono in ricompensa della mia fedel servitù fatta alla bona memoria del Duca Aless^ro suo Padre et anche a S.S.; mi rispose ch' a tutte sua forze l'haverebbe ricuperato, et ch' il ritratto saria statto il mio, et di più che lui haveva obligatione di far tutto quello ch' io gli chiedessi per che haveva nel suo corpo l'anima di detto Duca, et con questa speranza restai in Fiorenza et Pisa cinque mesi con mio grandissimo interesse, et grandissima infermità, per la qual fu forzato partirme per venir a casa, havendo però prima hauta licenza da esso S^re Iulio, et provvisione sopra lasua parola di non mancarmi nel detto servitio et hebbe soccorso di denari per il mio viaggio dal gran Duca per mano del S^r Thomaso di Medici, gionsi a casa et ricuperai la sanità quando piaque al S^r Iddio, et alcuni mesi doppo il S^r Iulio mi scrisse ch'io andassi a Fiorenza, perche haveva ricuperato con gran difficultà il ritratto, et era per darmi tutto il mio intento, come posso justificare per sue lettere per il che mi partei per Fiorenza a di 5 maggio 1570 et subito che fu gionto da S.S. mi prese per la mano et mi mostrò il ritratto, et perch'io instava che non volesse mancare di quanto mi haveva promesso, mi disse che lui non mi voleva a modo alcuno dare quel primo et autentico, ma che me ne haverebbe datto una copia, sopra ch'io gli feci contrasto, tenendo che manchasse della sua parola atteso che questo retratto era sta sepulto 33 Anni, et per meggio mio era stato scoperto, ma non potei ottenere altro da S.S. per che mai volse concedermi l'original di detto ritratto, anci ne fece fare una copia, qual fu principiata da Vincenzo suo pittore, et poi finita da Salvio pittore del Cavalier somo, ma detta copia riuscì sborgna, et io recusai' d'accettarla, et gli dissi al meno S.S. ne doveva far fare una copia per man di qualche valent'homo, ma lui mi rispose Constantino non lo posso fare, per ch'il gran Duca subito lo sapria et me ne privaria. Onde, io, vedendo la sua ferma risolutione contraria alla speranza ch'io teneva et alla parola dattami da S.S. non volsi a patto alcuno accettarne copia, ma mi resolsi venirmene a casa, et così venni in effetto senza farne motto ad esso S^r Iulio con mio grandissimo interesse di borsa, et mala satisfation d'animo, non havendo possuto adempire l'intento mio, però ringratio sempre la M^tà Divina; Ser^mo Principe questo retratto è il vero et Iusto qual fu fatto nel tempo che morse la bona memoria di Papa Clemente in Fiorenza in casa di Pazi, per man di Jacobo da pontor famoso homo, in habito da corrotto, in tavola a tutta facia et sin'alla Cintura, al qual non gli manca altro che la favella; così ho voluto darne noticia alla Alteza sua, per ch'io non glielo posso dare

con le mie mani, come desiderava, acciò almeno soa Alteza possi con le mie ragioni, queli io gli renuntio in tutto ricuperare detto ritratto. et far quanto gli pare; Suppla solamente vogli tener memoria di me Fidmo et antico servitore del Duca Alessro dignandosi darme qualche soccorso per me qual mi ritrovo povero senza facultà di sorte alcuna et d'età de' 69 anno, et con cinque figliole femine da marito, che riconoscerò il tutto dalla man di S. Alteza et il Sr Iddio gli ne renderà il guiderdone mantenendo et augumentando il suo felice stato come fa; et quando S. Alteza si dignarà saper quel ch'io son, et sono stato, pigliarà informatione dal Cavalier Carlo da Spello, da m. Iulio da Pistoia, da maestro augustino sarto, da m Stephano Romano camerier del gran Duca, et di più dal Sermo gran Duca, da' quali credo soa Alteza haverà bonissimo ragualio delle mie actioni; et se soa Alteza volesse valersi di me in cosa alcuna sarà servita indrizare la łra in Parma, in casa del Sr Scipion Banzola, per che havrò bon ricapito et io non mancarò di far quanto mi comandarà soa Alteza, alla qual servirò sempre con fede et con la verità, et se la Mtà di Dio mi concedesse che io havesse il modo di poter venire alli Piedi di S. Alteza come sarebbe l'animo mio, gli farei conoscere che prima ch' hora ho desiderato far cosa grata a Soa Alteza, et l'havrei fatto in effetto se il Sr Iulio non me havesse ingannato et non fosse proceduto con me con tanta malignità com' ha fatto, ma non voglio passare più oltra, in scritto acciò soa Alteza non mi tenesse uno Aretino, com' in effetto io non son, ne mi movo se non con gran ragione; Et con questo fine humilte baxio li piedi di soa Alteza, alla qual N. S. Iddio doni ogni felicità insieme con tutti li soi descendenti. Da Casalmaggre il di 23 9bre M.D.LXXI.

Di S. A.

Humilisso Servitore

Costantino Ansoldi.

(a tergo)

Al Sermo Principe di Fiorenza
overo in sua absentia al Sermo
gran Duca, mei Sri

In Fiorenza.

Doc. XXIII. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Catasto: Cittadini a parte: Quartiere San Giovanni: Gonfalone Chiave, 1549, No. 16, p. 349 sinistra.

Jaco di btmo di Jaco dipintore ttjo dalibro apte 36 (448) una casa nelpo di So pre magiore invia laura a po via 2o Zanobi di Gabrello orafo 3o bino scarpno 4o orbatello p Xa p uso ——

Doc. XXIV. Lettere CXXVII del Commendatore Annibal Caro raccolte dal Conte Giulio Bernardino Tomitano opitergino ed ora per la prima volta pubblicate in Venezia per Antonio Zatta, 1791.

A Mon. Giov. Guidiccioni a Fossombruno.

Lettera VI.

... A quest' ora il ritratto di V. S. e finito del tutto ed oggi gli si da la vernice. Il Pastermo si e portato da un uomo grande ed la migliorato assai, ma io non me ne soddisfaccio interamente perche V. S. e degna de' Michelangeli e de' Bastiani.

Volea fare intarciare le lettere nell' ornamento ma perche sconficcandosi si disordina ogni cosa, mi sono risoluto di farvele dipingere. V. S. m'ordini quel che n'ho da fare e intanto me lo vagheggierò in vece di Lei.

Di Roma alli 12 d'Ottobre 1539.

Idem, Lettera VII. To the Same

... Il ritratto si portera questa sera al Bernardi.

19 Ottobre 1539.

Some of the letters printed in this volume were in the eighteenth century in the private collections of Duca Mancciucca di Napoli and of Don Francesco Daniele, Segretario dell' Accademia Ercolanese. Others were in the Biblioteca Borghese and in the Biblioteca privata del Regnante Pontefice. Their present whereabouts is unknown to me.

Cav. Visconti printed in the *Giornale arcadico,* Tomo LXXX, p. 93, with certain changes of spelling among which *Pastermo* to *Pontormo,* the excerpt given above of letter No. VI. In Seghezzi's edition of Caro's letters (Milano, 1807, I, 117) the painter's name is still given as Pastermo.

Doc. XXV. Firenze: Archivio degl' Innocenti. Libro Nero: Debitori e Creditori G. 1545-1551, p. 446.

1549

Jacopo di bt^{o} di contto di dare adi xx dagosto ff cento p una comessa nel n^{o} spedale comapare al giorn^{le} R (157) a p patti b (419) a li^{ro} com̃ess^{i} (72) ff 100.

Idem, p. ccccxlvi.

Jacopo d bt^{o} dapuntormo dipintore di aver adi xxiii di marzo ff cento di m^{a} ... dal q^{o} di cassa b (210) e ent^{ta} S (36) dare cassa (444) ff 100.

Doc. XXVI. Firenze: Archivio degl' Innocenti. Libro di Commessi B. 1528-1549, p. ccccxviiii.

Jacopo di btolom̃eo da puntormo dipintore di auer ogni año durante sua vita naturale che deta dañi 55 st^{a} xxiiii^{o} di grano b^{i} vi^{o} di vino et b^{o} 1^{o} d'olio posto in f^{re} alla casa di sua abitazione atempi soliti et q^{o} p auer com̃esso nel n^{o} spedale ff cento di m^{a} comapare algiornale R (157) et alb^{ro} No p (446) e provata da s^{ri} consoli et operai di nostra arte addi xx dagosto 1549. posto al l^{o} giallo (177)

Doc. XXVII. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Depositeria Vecchia, No. 394, p. 101 destra.

Bastiano del gostra pittore con m^{o} Jac^{o} dapontormo conprouisione de duc^{a} dua al mese cominciando add p^{mo} dimarzo 1554 et di havere adi 28 di

febbraio 1556 p tanti messoli auscita Fissatasalariati p sua prouisione di marzo aprile et magio 1555 pagatoli di conto ff 36.

Idem, p. 101 sinistra.

Bastiano del gestra pittore dict° dedare addi xxvii di feb° 1556 ff dua porto lui p sua provisione di marzo 1555.

Resta da havere ff ventidua p sua provisione di mesi 11 di p° anno 1555 p tutto febbraio fatto creditore alibro desalariati p 1557 di ff ventidua. Duct. 22.

Doc. XXVIII. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Medici e Speziali No. 251. Libro dei Morti 1544-1560, p. 92 recto.

Genaio 1556

M^ro^ Jac° di Lorenzo dapontormo di pntore m^ri^ Adi 2 spi^to^ nella nūtiata.

Doc. XXIX. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Medici e Speziali: Libro dei Morti 1506-1560: Serie della Grascia, p. 524 verso.

Gennaio 1556

M° Jac° diL^zo^ da puntormo sep° nella nunziata adi 2.

Doc. XXX. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Notari: G 300. Protocollo di Ser Giovanni Battista di Lorenzo Giordani (1555-1556), c. 399 r.

3 febbraio 1557

Item post^a^ dictis anno 1556 Indic^ne^ 15 etdie| 3° mensis februarij. Actū Flor^e^ In populo s^ti^| stephani abbatia Flor^ne^ presentibus testib| S Priore S Ghei dc Gharadinis et| Luca ant^i^ de balicaccis testore drapor̄.

Publicer pateat quātr̄ Andreas oli Ant^i^| Bart^i^ als mei testor drapporū cōstitutus| ī psentia mei et testium pmissorū| Asserens egregiū mag^m^ Jac^m^ q. Bat^i^ mīcupatum| de Pōtormo pictorē mortuū esse et decessisse| aditio jam est mēsis vel circa nullo p eū cōdito testamēto qd sciatur| herc nullis relictis liberis scd relicto post se| dicto Andrea eius attinēte ditatis et coniūcto| ī qnto gradu et pximiori ipsi mag° Jacobo| ex latere matris scilicet| nato ex Don^a^ margh^ta^ Giachi calzolarij| de pōtormo sorore patrueli dicti Andree| et nullis aliis post se relictis subcessoribus| dictū Andreā excludere ab hereditate| dicti mag^i^ Jac^i^ seu cū eo i aliq^a^ p^te^| cōcurrere et putans hereditatē pdictā| potius utilem q inutile. Idest meliori, &c.

Doc. XXXI. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Decima: Ricerca delle Case di Firenze 1561. Quartiere San Giovanni, p. 128.

Pergola via o via della Colonna

1983 Andrea di... detto il Chiarrella| tessitore una casa contigua alla dtta c̄hà| Antonio di Gino lorenzi — |

Habita apigione Franc° di Goro pittore p ff| 14 st^a^ ff 24 B 4 — ff 14. 2. 2. Antonio come al quaderno.

Doc. XXXII. Due Lezzioni di messer Benedetto Varchi, Fiorenza: Torrentino, MDXLIX, Appendix.[1]

Il diletto ch io so che voi, mag. M. Benedetto, pigliate di qualche bella pittura o scultura, e in oltre lamore che voi àgli huomini di dette professioni portate, mi fa credere chel sottilissimo intelletto vostro si muova àricercare le nobilità e ragioni di ciascuna di queste due arti, disputa certo bella edifficilissima, e ornameto proprio del vostro sì raro ingegno, & per esser ricerco con tanta benignità da una vostra de' di passati di dette ragioni, non sapero o potero forse con parole e enchiostro esprimere interamente le fatiche di chi opera, pure per qualche ragione e essempio semplicemente (senza conclusione non dimanco) ve ne diro quello chi mi occorre. La cosa in se è tanto difficile, che la non si puo disputare e manco risolvere, perche una cosa sola ce, che è nobile che el suo fondamento è questo sie el disegno, e tutte quante laltre ragioni sono debole, rispetto à questo (vedetelo, che chiunque ha questo fa l'una e l'altra bene) & se tutte l'altre arguitioni sono debole e meschine rispetto à questo come si può ella disputare cō questo solo, se non lassare stare questo da parte, non hauendo simile à se & produrre altre ragioni più debole senza fine, o conclusione? Come dire una figura di scultura fabricata atorno, e da tutte le bande tōde, è finita per tutto, con scarpelli, e altri strumenti faticosi, ritrovata in certi luoghi da non potere pensare in che modo si possa co' ferri entrarui o finirui essendo pietra o cosa dura; che à fatica alla tenera terra sarebbe fattibile, oltre alle difficultà d'un braccio in aria cō qualche cosa in mano, difficile, e sottile à condurla che non si rompa, oltre di questo non potere rimediare quando è leuato un poco troppo (questo è ben vero, oltre à questo hauerla accordato benissimo per un verso) & poi per gli altri nō ve l'ha à ritrouare, quando per mācamento di pietra in qualche lato, per la difficultà grande che è in accordare proporzionate tutte le parti insieme à tondo, non potendo ben mai vedere come l'ha à stare, se non fatta che l'è, e se le non sono cose minime e non va rimedio; ma e non harà non ha rimedio. Ma chi non avrà fondamento di disegno, incorrera in errori, o in auertenze troppo euidente, chè le cose minime si possono male fugire nelluna è nell'altra, ecci ancora e vari modi di fare, come di marmo, di bronzo, e tāte varie sorte di pietra, di stucho, di legno, di terra e molte altre cose, che in tutte bisogna gran praticha, oltre alla fatica della persona, che non è piccola; ma questa tiene l'uomo più sano, e fargli migliore complessione; doue che el Pittore è el contrario, male disposto del coropo per le fatiche dell'arte, piu tosto fastidi di mente che aumēto di vita; (troppo ardito), e volenteroso di imitare tutte le cose che ha fatto la natura, co colori, perche le paino esse (e ancora migliorarle) per fare i sua lauori ricchi, e pieni di cose varie, faccendo, doue accade come dire, splendori, notte con fuochi, e altri lumi simili, aria, nugoli, paesi lontani e dappresso, casamenti con tante varie osseruanze di prospettiua, animali di tanta sorti, di tanti vari colori e tante altre cose; che è possibile

[1] Reprinted with many changes of spelling and punctuation and with certain omissions that obscure the sense of several passages, as well as with the erroneous remark that it was originally addressed to M. Benedetto Cellini, in Bottari's *Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura, scritte da' più celebri personaggi dei Secolo XV, XVI e XVII* (edizione Ticozzi, Milano, 1822, I, 20-25). This letter was really written by Pontormo at Varchi's request and formed part of the symposium appended to his lecture on sculpture and painting in which he published various opinions expressed by famous artists on the relative merits of the two arts.

che in una storia che facci vi s'interuenga cio che fe' mai la natura, oltre a come io dissi disopra, migliorarle, e col arte dare loro grazia, a accomodarle, e comporle doue le stanno meglio; oltre à questo e varii modi di lauorare, in fresco, à olio, à tempera, à colla, che in tutto bisogna gran pratica à maneggiare tanti vari colori, sapere conoscere i loro effetti, mesticati in tanti varii modi, chiari, scuri, ombre, e lumi, reflessi, e molte altre appartenenze infinite che io dissi troppo ardito, che la importāza sie superare la natura in volere dare spirito à una figura, e farla parere viua, e farla in piano; che se almeno egli hauesse considerato, che quando Dio creò l'huomo, lo fece di rilieuo, come cosa più facile à farlo viuo, et nō si harebbe preso uno soggetto sì artifitioso, e piu tosto miracoloso e diuino.

Dico ancora, per gli essempi che se ne puo dare, Michelagnolo non hauer potuto mostrare la profondità del disegno, e la grandezza dell' ingegno suo diuino nelle stupende figure di rilievo fatte da lui, ma nelle miracolose opere di tante varie figure, e atti begli essorsi di pittura si, hauendo questa sempre piu amata, come cosa più difficile, è piu atta allo ingegno suo sopranaturale, non gia per questo ci non conosca la sua grandezza, e eternità dependere da la Scultura, cosi si degna e si eterna, ma di questa eternità ne participa piu le caue de marmi di carrara che la virtù dello artefice, perche è in migliore soggetto, e questi soggetto cioè rilieuo appresso di gran maestri è cagione di grandissimi premii, e molta fama, e altre degnità in ricompenso di si degna virtù, pēsomi dunche, che sia come del vestire che questa sia panno fine, perche dura piu è di piu spesa; e la pittura panno acotonato dello inferno che dura poco è di manca spesa perche leuato che gl' ha quello riccolino non se ne tiene piu conto, ma hauendo ogni cosa hauer fine, non sono eglino eterne à un modo, e ci sarei che dire in' bondato, ma habbiatemi per scusato, che nō mi dare el cuore far' scriuer piu à questa penna, altro che la importanza di tutta questa lettera ilche è farui noto che vi sono ossequente e a' piaceri vostri paratissimo, Sommi aueduto che la ripreso vigore, e non le basterebbe isto quaderno di fogli, non che tutto questo perche le ora nella beva sua, ma io perche le non vi paressino cerimonie troppo stuchevoli per non vi infastidire non la intignero piu nello inchiostro, pure che la mi serua cosi tanto che io noti i di del mese, che sono XVIII di Febraio. Vostro Iacomo in casa.

Doc. XXXIII. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Guardaroba No. 28. Inventario della Guardaroba per M. Giuliano del Touaglia, M. Giovanni Ricci, M. Mariotto Cecchi: XXV d'Ottobre 1553, p. 6 verso.

Nelle Camere del Duca al Piano della sala de 200 nella Camera Terza.
Quadro di nr̄a dn̄a con ornamento dorato di mano del Pontolmo.

Idem, p. 13 verso.

Salotto della Duchessa.

Uº quadro di pittura drentui una uenere con Cupido, et fornimento di noce intagliato, et cortina di taffeta uerde di mano di Jacº da pōtolmo.

DOCUMENTS

Doc. XXXIV. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Guardaroba No. 30, 1553-1560. Inventario generale a capi della Guardaroba, p. 54.

Entrata

Uno quadro di Nr̃a Donna cō ornamento dorati del Pont'olmo.

Uno quadro cōla Venere e cupido del Pontolmo cō ornamento di noce e cortina di s^{ta} uerde.

Uscita

Idem, p. 58.

A S E^{a} addi 24 d'agosto (1557) Uno quadro grande di uña Doña di mano del Pont'olmo cō ornamento dorato et per lei dato di cōm^{e} della Duc^{a} a Don giovañi di figana p portare a milano al gior^{le} a 100.

Doc. XXXV. Firenze: Archivio di Stato. Guardaroba No. 34: Giornale della Guardaroba di Sua Eccellenza 1555-1558, p. 100 verso.

M.D.LVII.

Addi 29 d'agosto. Uno quadro di nr̃a Donna dimano del Pont'olmo cō ornamēto dorato di br^{a} 2½ dato in dono a Don giovañi figana p ordine della Sig^{ra} Duc^{a}.

Doc. XXXVI. Rime Inedite di Raffaello Borghini e di Angiolo Allori detto il Bronzino, a cura del canonico Domenico Moreni, Firenze, nella stamperia Magheri, 1822, pp. XXX-XL.

SONNETS ON THE DEATH OF PONTORMO

Benedetto Varchi al Bronzino

Bronzin, dove poss'io fuggir, s'ancora
In questa sì remota, e sì ronita
Profonda valle il duol sempre m'addita,
Sol perch'io pianga, e mi lamenti ognora?
Lo gran Pittor, che dianzi in sì poc'ora
Impensata da noi fece partita,
E me lasciò, perch'io morissi, in vita
Con voi, cui sorte, e danno eguale accora?
Ohimè dunque il chiaro vostro, e mio
Puntormo ha spento morte anzi 'l suo giorno;
E voi vivete, e 'l Martin vive, ed io?
Pur ne consoli, ch'ei non lunge a Dio
Lieto il rimira, e vedrallo al gran giorno
Quale il dipinse a noi tra fero, e pio.

PONTORMO

Di Bronzino

Io sono omai sì di me stesso fuora,
Saggio, e buon Varehi, e 'n sì misera vita,
Ch'ogni conforto, ogni pietosa aita
Dello sgravarmi il duol, più m'addolora.
Lasso, e che più dolor d'uopo mi fora?
Non basta a far da me l'alma partita
Quel ch'io sento? o si dee per infinita
Doglia morte allungar più d'ora in ora!
Anzi pur questo è de' miseri il rio
Sentiero, 'n morte per più danno, e seorno
Fa di se lungo, ardente, e van desìo.
Ma che rispondo! Anzi perchè travìo
Dal pensier giusto, e saldo! Eceo ch'io torno
A trar dagli oechi amaro eterno rio.

Se mai sarà, che dall' interna doglia,
Che si m' ingombra l' intelletto, e 'l eore
Onde eade da lor possa, e valore,
Come per verno rio tenera foglia,
Già non dieh'io poter pari alla voglia,
Ma eoncesso mi sia, che no 'l dolore
Sempre mi tenga a guisa d'uom, ehe muore,
Legati i sensi, e mai non gli apra, o seioglia,
Forse potrebbe un dì pietosa mente
Da questa lingua, e quest' indotte earte
Udendo la eagion del mio gran pianto,
Meco dolersi, e meco reverente
Ammirar la bontà, l'ingegno, e l'arte
Del gran Puntormo virtuoso, e santo.

Quando nell'alto mar, ehe non ha riva
Delle tue lodi, amica alma beata,
Entro, e mi veggio in frale, e disarmata
Barca, d'ajuto, e di governo priva,
Pavento, e tremo, e nel pensier m'arriva
Se mai fu audace impresa invan tentata,
Ond'io calo la vela al vento data
Con mente offesa, a se medesma sehiva.
Ma gli onor tuoi, le virtù eare, e tante
Tornan si viva in me la giusta voglia
Di farne rieeo il nostro almo paese,
Che pur eonvien, ehe dal lito mi seioglia,
E guidandomi amor trapassi avante
Di speme aeeeso, e di desir eortese.

Ben fu presagio di più grave danno,
Orme, del passo tuo l'empia ruina
Poiehè partir dovea la pellegrina
Alma del tuo gran lume anz'il quart'anno.

Quella, che amò sì 'l vero, odiò l'inganno
D'arte eccellente, e di bontà divina,
Che l'Arno altero a par teco cammina
Colmo di gloria, e di pietoso affano.
Dolce, vago, gentil chiaro ruscello
Piangi con meco, e da quest' occhi prendi
Più che dal fonte tuo forza, e vigore.
Tu perso hai 'l figlio, io l'amico, e 'l fratello,
Anzi 'l padre, 'l maestro: or meco rendi
Debito officio a così giusto amore.

Amico spirto al ciel tornato, d'onde
Partisti quasi accorto pellegrino
Fornito il voto, e quest' aspro cammino
D'oliva ornato, e di laurea fronde,
Com' hai sofferto, ohimè, lasciarmi all' onde
Nemiche in mezzo? e senza me divino
Goderti albergo? Al sommo Sol vicino
Pur vedi il tutto, e nulla ti s'asconde;
Chiaro t'è il cor con quanto ardore, e fede
T'ama, e che senza te perdendo vassi,
Poichè del Varco tuo l'Orme non vede,
Nè suol pietà soffrir, ch'amico lassi
L'altro nei lacci, ond' ha ritratto il piede
Potendo aitarlo, e sol libero passi.

Se quell' ardor pien d'amorosa fede
D'onesta carità provata, e salda
Più che mai per te m'arde, e non pur scalda,
Come vera amicizia ama, e richiede,
Amica luce or, che chiaro si vede
Da te 'l mio core, e la sincera, e calda
Voglia, che quasi al sol mi strugge, e sfalda
Tenera neve, e non più spera, o crede.
Gli occhi, che per mia doglia in terra chiusi
Nel cielo apristi, ond' ei s'allegra, e schiara,
Rivolgi al tuo fedel, negletto, e solo,
Che quaggiù vive oscura vita amara
Soccorril, prego, e 'l troppo amor lo scusi,
Se la tua pace in ciel turba il suo duolo.

Dalla sublime sua stellante soglia
L'unica luce mia ver me riguarda,
Perch' io la segua, e parle ogni ora tarda,
Ch' altro non ha nel cielo, onde si doglia;
Ond' io, ch' al cor non ho più calda voglia,
Quanto a lassù volar preme, e ritarda
Disgombro, e scarco, acciò leve, e gagliarda
L'alma sormonte, e di quaggiù si scioglia;
E con più cura all' opre sante, e belle
Di lei mi specchio, e sforzomi esser tale,

Che quale in terra in ciel m'accoglia, ed ame:
O felice quel dì, ch' aperte l'ale
Per acquetar le pari oneste brame
Volaro seco alle sue pari stelle.

Se virtù qui fra noi pregiar si deve,
E se bontade il ciel gradisce, ed ama,
Sacro seggio or esalta, orna e riceve
Mia luce, e 'n terra avrà perpetua fama;
Che quanto d'arte, ingegno, o studio brama
In lei rilusse, e ne diè saggio in breve,
Che nei tre lustri a quei, che il secol chiama
Più chiari, a par sen giò secura, e leve.
Crebbe col tempo in lei bontade, ed arte,
Felici amiche; a quanto saggia umile,
Mai sempre aggiunse al dotto il santo stile.
Or in ciel premio a' suoi merti simile
Si gode, e 'l mondo a' suoi pregi comparte
Onor supremi, e meco piange in parte.

Piochè la luce mia da mille chiare
Opre ritrasse l'onorata mano,
Dato allo stile, ed ai color sovrano
Loco, e dimostro quanto arte può fare.
In nuova illustre, e magna opra, ch' ornare
Dovesse il tempio del gran Re Toscano
La pose, ove cercò sopr' ogni umano
Poter se stessa, e tutti altri avanzare;
Ma quando, ohimè, non molto lungi al fine
Seguiva intenta il vago, alto lavoro,
D'orror, di meraviglia, e d'Arte pieno,
Soverchi studj a sue voglie divine
Fermaro il corso, e dal terreno coro
Volò al celeste, al vero lume in seno.

Di Messer Tommaso Porcacchi.

Chiusa col padre suo sotto atra terra
Col capo alquanto in fuor, col viso chino
La maestra di voi, chiaro Bronzino,
Così la voce al dir mesta disserra.
Che fo? Chi sono? Or chi mi sbrana, e atterra?
Dov' è l'arte? il color? l'ingegno? il fino
Pronto disegno? Ohimè, spento il divino
Pontormo, acerba morte or mi sotterra!
Già vive, e lo so ben, de' suoi colori
Dell' orme sue nuovo Pontormo eletto,
A questo eguale, Apelle oggi a' migliori
Dunque nel mio Bronzino i tristi umori
Raseiugo, in lui mi poso; così detto
S'ascose, e solo oggi per voi vien fuori.

Bronzino a Madonna Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati

Donna, che 'l secol nostro oscuro, e vile
Rendete sovr' ogni altro illustre, e caro
Primo di Febo onor, primo, e più chiaro
Di cortese onestà lume gentile,
Troppo sete ver me dolce, ed umile
Per medicar l'altiero colpo amaro,
Che morte diemmi, e che non ha riparo,
Se non col farmi a chi mel diè simile.
Morte mel diede, e sola può far morte
A me sol grata, a tutti altri molesta,
Che l'alta piaga all'alma, e al cor si chiuda.
Ben rallenta il dolor, che non men forte
M'è duopo vostra man soave, e presta,
Ma più s'allunga, onde pietà m'è cruda.

Alla Medesima

La notte, ch' al mio duol principio diede,
Ch' altro, che morte omai finir non puote,
E che lasciò le mie speranze vote
Di si 'intera amicizia, e chiara fede,
Con si grave dolor nel cor mi riede,
Anzi è pur sempre, che da lui remote
Gioia, e quiete ogni altra cura scuote,
Che pianger lasso, e sospirar non chiede:
Onde s'avvien, che mano, o voce porga
Donna, ond' io scriva, e la ragion discopra
Del comun danno, e di mie doglie acerbe,
Tal dal petto sospir, dagli occhi sgorga
Pianto, che forza m'è, lasciata ogni opra,
Mostrar, ch' a sol tormento il ciel mi serba.

Alla Medesima

Mentre sepolto, e di me stesso in bando
Mi sto com' uom, che più non veggia, e senta
Che tenebre, e martir, poichè m' ha spenta
Morte ogni gioia, ohimè, si tosto, e quando!
Si dolce udir mi par l'aura vi destando
Le vive gemme, e sì bel raggio intenta
Far la mia vista, che ridurmi tenta
L'alma, u' si vive, i suoi danni obliando;
O vitale armonia, celeste lume,
S'al destin si potea tor l'arme, vostra
Era la gloria, e ben temer si vide.
Ma ch'io sol la sua voce ode, e mi guide
Lo buon Pittor, che fu dell'età nostra
Specchio, e già termo, e 'n doglia mi consumo.

Di Madonna Laura Risposta

Se fermo è nel destin, che lacrimando
L'alma vostra gentil viver consenta
Per quella, ch' oggi in ciel lieta, e contenta
Gode del vostro gir si lamentando;
Io, che fuor (mal mio grado) talor mando
Qual roco angel, voce imperfetta, e lenta,
E se pur luce scopro, ella diventa
Oscura nube in cieca parte errando.
Vi prego umil, che l'onorate piume
Seguiate, e 'l dolce suon, che sì vi mostra
Quel, che dal volgo vil parte, e divide;
Che forse un dì, se morte non recide
Anzi tempo il mio stame, all'alta chiostra
Con voi sarò fuor d'ogni mio costume.

A Madonna Laura

S'al vostro alto valor famosa pianta
Ai chiari merti del mio Duce, o al mio
Grave dolore, o a quel caldo desìo,
Che d'onorarlo il cor mi strugge, e schianta,
Pari avess' io 'l poter, qual più si vanta
Securo nome, dal futuro oblìo
Vincerei, credo, a dal più crudo al pio
Saria sua fama reverita, e pianta:
Ma poichè 'l vostro ogni valore avanza,
Ne più può meritar l'ottimo, e saggio,
E mia doglia, e voler passa ogni segno.
Al vostro sol valor ricorro, al degno
Merto, e a mia voglia, e duol pari, e quindi aggio
Speme d'alzarlo, ov' io non ho possanza.

Di Madonna Laura in Risposta

Al gran merto dell'alma eletta, e santa,
Che ritornando al cielo in grembo a Dio,
Lassò voi, lasso, in tenebroso, e rio
Stato, e noi privi di ricchezza tanta;
Qual tromba suona, o pur qual Musa canta
Tanto altamente, e così chiara, ch' io
Bassa, a scura non veggia? che desio
La vostra udir, cui grave doglia ammanta.
Ella può sola, ond' io certa ho speranza
Vedere anzi 'l fornir del mio viaggio
Dare algi alti suoi pregj onor condegno.
Allor quanto alzar puossi umìle ingegno,
Sebbene a ciascun passo in terra caggio
Pur di seguirvi prenderei baldanza.

A Madonna Laura

L'Aura vostr' Alma, or che 'l fier Borea ammorza
Alle campagne i più vaghi colori,
E 'l corso impetra ai vivi argenti, e fuori
Vedova, e attrista ogni terrena scorza;
Col suo dolce spirar, di nuova forza
Par, ch' aer muova, e nuova terra irrori,
Nuovo Sol n'apra, e piante, acque, erbe, e fiori
Ne renda, e ta', ch' a rallegrar ne sforza.
Ond' io quel fronda al più nemico verno
Dentro agghiacciato, e fuori, atro, e negletto,
Orbo del caro mio buon padre, e duce,
Vigor riprendo, e 'l giel distruggo interno,
Degli onor suoi mi vesto, e 'l suo diletto
Seren m'innalza, e scuopre la mia luce.

Di Madonna Laura in Risposta

Bronzino in ciel l'alma beata luce
Quant' altro vago, e luminoso aspetto
Atto a produr fra noi più degno effetto
Come fu già del mondo onore, e luce;
Talchè l'erto sentier, ch' a Dio conduce
Fuor di questo mortal breve ricetto,
Mostra sì piano al vostr' alto intelletto,
Ch' uopo non ha di miglior guida, o duce.
Et io, che 'n alto mar senza governo
Quando è più nudo il ciel de' suoi, splendori,
Erro sempre alternando or poggia, or orza,
Già fatta preda al gran Nettuno, e scherno,
Sorgo non lunge i suoi lucenti albori
Si che la stanca nave si rinforza.

APPENDIX III

Diary of Pontormo[1]

Doc. XXXVII. Firenze: Biblioteca Nazionale. Miscellanea magliabecchiana, catalogo VIII, 1490.

I

Carte 5

adi 30 digenaio 1555 comīcioqelle rene di quella figura c̄h piagne quello bābino| adi 31 feci quelpoco delpanno c̄hlacigne c̄h fucattiuo tēpo eemj doluto j 2 dj| lostomaco e lebudella laluna afatto lap'ma quarta| adi 2 dj febraio ī sabato sera euenerdi māgai lº cauolo etuctadue qᵉ sere| cenai ō 16 dipane epnō hauere patito fredo alauorare nō me forse doluto| elcorpo elostomaco eltēpo emolle epiouoso| adj lº difebraio feci dalpanno īgiu cadi 5 lafinii eadi 16 feci quelle gābe diquella| bābino c̄h le sotto c̄h fu īsabato eluenerdi. comīcio a ēē beltēpo ecōsj elsabato detto efre|ddo — eprima era durato apiouere tucta uia sēza pūto difredo eadi 21 c̄h fu berlīgaccio| cenai cō brōzino lalepre eueddi lebagattelle elasera dicarnouale ui cenaj| adj 24 ī domenica lunedi emartedi

[1] The order in which the pages of the original manuscript follow one another has been preserved in transcribing the Diary, but a blank page has been ignored with the result that the last page is numbered 23 and not 24. This is not the order in which Pontormo made these notes, but their true sequence will be found in the chronological analysis of the Diary which immediately follows the text. In the margins of many of the pages one finds little sketches drawn by Pontormo to indicate the figure in the choir of San Lorenzo upon which he was at work on the day in question. The reduced facsimile of page 4, which forms part of the illustration of this volume, gives an idea of the disposition of these sketches some of which correspond, as I have pointed out elsewhere, to drawings by Jacopo that are preserved in the Print Room of the Uffizi.

The authenticity of this fragment is indisputable; the handwriting is identical with that which appears on a number of Pontormo's drawings (*Dessins*, p. 42 f.). We have, it is true, no trace of it earlier than 1625 at which date it came into the possession of the Strozzi, probably among the numerous acquisitions made by Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi. In 1786 Alessandro, the last descendant of Carlo, sold his collection to the Grand Duke Leopoldo. Pontormo's Diary is not mentioned in the first catalogue of the codices that once belonged to the Strozzi Library (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, *Catalogo dei codici della libreria strozziana*), but the second catalogue of the same collection mentions it and its provenance.

A copy (h. 266, w. 198 mm.) of eight pages of the Diary, including the sketches that appear in the margins, was made early in the seventeenth century. It is now No. 621 (33-E, 5, 6, 32) of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence. It is labelled "Diario del Pontormo, pittor fiorentino" and once belonged to Gaetano Poggiali and of it Gaye (*Carteggio*, III, 166-169) quotes a few pages. The identification of the original is due to Colasanti (*Diario di Jacopo Carrucci, Bullettino della società filologica romana*, II [1902], 35-59) whose article was reviewed by Fabriczy (*Das Tagebuch Jacopos da Pontormo, Repertorium*, XXVI [1903], 95 f.). Colasanti transcribed only a few lines. He attempted to determine the chronological sequence of the pages, but his arrangement is inexact.

emercoledi cħ fuelp'mo di di guaresima| duro tēpo come dap'le e bello giouedipoi comīciouēto secco epiutosto freddo| cħ fu lutimo di difebraio eio feci eldj latesta diquella figura cħ é sopª quelle cħsta cosi| domenica mattina desinai cōbrº eparеuami ēē moltopieno ī modo cħ| lasera ionōcenai| adi 4 dimarzo feci queltorso cħ é sotto a quellatesta detta eleuami 1ª hora īanzj dj| domenica fumo adi 10 detto desinai cōbº elasera a hore 23 cenamo| quello pesce grosso eparechj picholifrittj cħ spesi soldi 12 cħ ueraattauiano| elunedi feci quello braccio diquella figura ditesta cħ alza elasciala| īsino quiui come mōstra qº scizo| martedj emerco ledi feci quel uechio elbracci suo cħ stacosi| adi 15 dimarzo comīciaj quello braccio cħ tiene lacoregia ītesta cħ fu ī uenerdj| elasera cenaj 1º pesce duouo cacio fichi enoce eō 11 dipane| mercoledi adi 20 fornj clbraccio diuenerdj elunedi īānzj haueuo fatto| quello busto elmartedj fecjlatesta diquello braccio cħio dico giouedimattina| mileuaj abuonora et uidi simaltēpo euēto efredo cħ ionōlauoraj e mj| stettj ī casa uenerdj feci quello altº brº cħ sta atrauerso esabato ūpoco di| cāpo azurro cħ fumo adi 23 elasera cenj ii ō dipane dua huoua espinacj| cħ fu ladōm lunedi adi 25 desinai cōbrº elasera cenai īcasamia 1º pesce duouo| martedj feci quellatesta delputto cħ china ecenai ō 10 dipane eebi 1º sonetto[1] daluarchi| mercoledi feci quelloresto delputto eebj disagio a quello stare chinato tucto di|

elasera D comicio eltēpo aguas tarsi cħera du rato pa rechi di bello sēza piouere

II

īmodo cħ mi dolse giouedj lerene (euenerdi oltre aldolermj ebimala| dispositione enōmisēti bene elasera nōccnaj elamattina cħ fumo a di (frācº ī giu . . .) 29 1555| feci lamano emezo ebraccio diquella figura grāde elginochio ed 1º pezodigāba| doue eposa lamano cħ fu elucnerdj detto e la detta sera nōcenai cstettj. D.| īsinalsabato sera emāgiai 10 ō dipanc eduahuoua e iª ī salata di Fiorj diborana| 31 dimar zo ladomenica mattina desinai ī casa danjello pesce ecastrone elasera nōcenai| clunedi mattina misismossc elcorpo cōdolore leuamj epoi p ēē fredo euēto| ritornai neleto estettjuj īsino a hore 18 eītucto dipoi nō misēti benc pure lasera| ccnaj ūpoco digota lessa cō delle bietole e burro esto cosi sēza sapere quello cħ| a ēē dime pēso cħ mi nocessj assaj quello ritornare neletto pure ora cħ sono| hore 4 mipare stare asaj bene| adi 3 dap'le feci quella gāba dalginochio īgiu ecō grā fatica dibuioedivēto e dītonico| elasera cenai ō 14 dipane radichio e duoua| giouedi cenai ō 10

[1] This was in all probability the following sonnet which one finds in *De' Sonetti di M. Benedetto Varchi*, Fiorenza, 1555, p. 248, and which is quoted by Colasanti (*Bull. d. soc. filol. romana*, II, 41, n. 2).

MENTRE io con penna oscura, e basso inchiostro
Tanti anni, e tanti un uiuo LAVRO formo,
Voi con chiaro pennello alto PVNTORMO
Fate pari all'antico il secol nostro:
Anzi mentre io col uolgo inerte dormo,
Voi nuouo pregio alla cerussa, e all'ostro
Giugnete tal, che fuor del uile stormo,
A dito sete, e per essempio mostro.
Felice uoi, che per secreto calle,
Oue orma ancor non è segnata, solo
Ven gite a gloria non più uista mai.
Onde la donna più ueloce assai
Che strale, o uento, e ch'è sempre alle spalle,
Inuan darauui homai lultimo uolo.

dipane dua huoua afretłłe radichio| uenerdi comīciaj iª hora ī anzj di quelle schiene c̄h sono sotto aquella| cenai iª libª dipane sparagi ehuoua efu lº bello dj| sabato cenaj| domenica c̄h fu luliuo desinai ī casa brº certi crespellj mirabili| lunedj damattina ebj lº nelorto c̄h lego eacōcio lorto lauāga| martedj feci quella gāba cō lacoscia sotto aquelle schiene dette di sopª cioe| elasera cenai lª meza testa dicauretto| mercoledi dua huoua. elasera casco lagociola a cec̄ho fornaio| giouedi laltera meza fritta| uenerdi c̄h fueldj scō cenaj lº pesce duouo solo cō zuc̄hro e ō 8 dipane.| sabato lauorai quelmasso. euenne el duca ascō lorēzo cioe aluficio. lasera poi nōcenaj| pa|squa domenica fuiº grāfredo egrāuēto eaqua desinai cō brº ō 6 dipane elasera nōcenaj| lunedi piu fredo e uēto eaqua elasera cenai īcasa daniello ō 6 dipane| martedi fuasaj bello elasera cenai ō 10 dipane| mercoledi mattina fu fredo estettimi īcasa cenai ō 9 dipane agnello elpiu bello c̄h sipossa| giouedi lauoraj. quelle dua braccia. ecenai ō 9 dipane carne ecacio efu frediccio| uenerdi feci latesta cōquel masso c̄h le sotto cenaj ō 9 dipane lº pesce duouo eiª īsalata| e ho elcapo c̄h mi gira ū buō dato.| sabato feci brōcone e masso elamano ecenai ō 10 dipane| domenica cenai ō 10 dipane estettj tucto eldi stracho debole efastidioso fubellisimo dj efe laluna| lundedj adi 22 dap'le stettj bene ogni male eraito uia māgiai ō 8 dipane nō haueuo piu| capogirli enōero debole. e ho buona sperāza.|

III

adi 23 lasera cenai cōpiero[1] māgiai ō 9 dipane c̄h uera eluillano| adi 24 lasera cenai cōpiero. sparagi e huoua| adi 25 cenai īcasa lº armoncino dagnello lasera disāmarco| adi 26 cenai cōpiero.| adi 27 cenai cōpiero eldi fini quella gāba sola c̄h sta cosi| adi 28 īdomenica mattina desinaj cōbrōzo elasera nō cenai| lunedj cenai cōpiero ūbuōdato e cosacce ō 12 dipane| martedj cenaj ō 12 dipane cacio enoce| mercoledj adj pº dimagio cenai ō 12 dipane lª ½ testicuola cacio ebacelli| giouedj laltª meza acena| uenerdj sera cenai cōpiero lº pesce duouo īsalata fichj sechj. lasera di scā croce| sabato lº pesce duouo cōsugo dibietole zuc̄hro eminestra dibietole eō 10 dipane| domenica cenai dua huoua| lunedi lº fegato fritto dagnello| martedi sera cenai lº cuore dagnello carne secha lessa e ō 10 djpane| ecomiciai quel brº di quella figura c̄h sta cosi| mori eltasso|[2] mercoledj egiouedi lafinj. elasera ādai acena cō daniello cauretto arosto epesce| uenerdj sera lº pesce duouo elª īsalata ō 10 dipane uino mācho c̄h mezetta| sabato sera cenai cō piero pesce darno ricatta huoua ecarciofi emāgiai| troppo emaxime della ricotta elamattina desinai cō brº elasera nō cenai| c̄h fulauētura mia c̄h haueuo māgiato tropo| lunedisera māgiai carne delgiouedj cota enō mi fa bene. ō 10 di pane| 3 martedi comīciai afare queltorso c̄h tiene elcapo alōgiu cosi| cenai lª īsalata e lº pesce duouo ō 10 dipane| mercoledj ebi lº ītonico si faticoso c̄h io nō pēsoc̄h glabia a far bene c̄h sono| tucte le poppe come siuede la comettitura ecenai huoua e ō 10 dipane| giouedi feci lº brā| uenerdi laltº brā| sabato quella coscia diquella figura c̄h sta cosi| 19 dim|agio| domenica desinai ecenai cōbrō. elamatina posi quegli peschi| lunedi comīcai quel braccio di detta figura c̄h stacosi elasera cenai| ō 10 dipane huoua episegli| martedi quello alº brā| 22 mercoledi eltorso

[1] This cannot be Pierino da Vinci, the sculptor, who died, it would seem (Vasari, VI, 131), in 1554.

[2] Battista del Tasso, the son of Marco del Tasso, and himself a great craftsman. He was an intimate friend of Bronzino, Cellini and Luca Martini, and died, as Pontormo records, on May 7, 1555. Cf. Vasari, III, 350-353. Pontormo mentions him again on page XVII.

egiouedi c̄h fu lasēsione desinai cōbrō elasera cō danjello| uenerdj quella coscia. ō diecj dipane l° pesce duouo efini lafigura|

IV

sabato sera cenai i° īsalata edua huoua eldi feci certe letere| domenica mattjna ādai asāfrāc° cpoi desinai ī casa danjello elasera nō cen . . . | lunedj| martedj| mercoledj feci quel capo c̄h sta sottoaquella figr̄a cosi| . . . di 30| ma|(g)io| giouedi lacoscia| uenerdi quelle schienc| sabato finj lafigura cenai ō 10 dipane ciriege e l° pesce duouo| domenica sera desinai cōbrō. c̄h fula sera dello spirito scō| lunedi mattina cōdaniello elasera cenai īcasa mia| martedi sera cōdaiello cogloni efegato el° quarto arosto| mercoledi sera īcasa mia l° pezo dipane diramerino e huoua e feci quelle spall . . .| diquella figura| c̄h sta cosi| giouedi feci elbraccio emāgiai ūpoco dicarne arosto| uenerdi lafornj emāgiai l° pesce duouo eadormētamj uestito| sabato mileuaj molto male disposto cenai cōpiero poco e| sēza uoglia clanocte ebi lafebre cō grā fuoco adosso enō dormj mai| domenica c̄hsiamo adi 9 di gugno 1555 cenai eōpiero| lunedi grā dogle dicorpo| martedi grā dogle dicorpo| mercoledi quel medesimo ne mai lasera ho passato ūpane ouero agiūto| adj 13| giouedi mattina desinaicōbr° c̄h fu clcorp' doñj elasera ācora uicenaj| uenerdi. lauorai| sabato cenai cōpiero elauoraj| domenica desinai cōbr° ccenai| lunedi cenai ī casa mia ō 10 dipane carne e īsalata| martedi| mercoledi feci quellatesta dimorto cō labarba. c̄h e sop^{a} q^{a} figura| giouedi feci quella testa e braccio diquella figura c̄h stacosi| uenerdi feci cltorso| sabato legābe e lafinj ccenaj ō 9 dipane huoua e susine c̄h fu adj 23 — | digugno| domenica| lunedi| martedj sidisfece elpōte mercoledi sirimuro lebuc̄h. giouedi feci quelc̄h uaisīno al c . . . | sabato fu sāpiero| domenica desinai eōdaniello c̄h fu l° grā caldo erauj brōzo elasera cenai cōpiero| giouedi adi 4 diluglo comīciai quella figura c̄h sta cosi|

V

elasera stettj adisagio aspettare lacarne c̄h batista era zoppo eelporta ua| c̄h gla ber°gato fuora. eq̄do suo padre staua male nō uistaua e q° e| c̄h gla hauto eletto dadormire datrotella| uenerdi sabato feci ī sino alegābe. ladomenica desinaj cō brōzo| adi 8 lunedi. feci nō so c̄h lettere ecomīciomi luscita| martedi feci i^{a} coscia. crebemi luscita. cō dimolta colera sāgu|igna ebiācha mercoledi stetti pegio c̄h forse io uo tre opiu c̄h a| ogni hora bizognaua talc̄h io mistettj ī casa ccenai ūpoco dj| minestraccia elmio batista ando difuora lasera e sapeua c̄h io mi| sētiuo malc e nō torno talc̄h io laro tienere amēte sēpre| giouedi feci quella alt^{a} gāba edelle īdispositionj delcorpo sto ūpoco| meglo c̄h sono 4 uolte ho cenato ī sā L° ebeuto ūpoco digreco| nōc̄h mipaia stare bene pc̄h ogni tre hore mi uiene lostringimēto| adi 12 uenerdj sera cenai cōpiero. ceredo sia passata luscita cioe q^{i} dolorj| sabato sera cenai īcasa pesce marinato e br uera eldj lauorai quello doccone| lungo rasēte lassito elasera feci quistione colfattore. elui dise c̄hio miprouedessi| domenica mattina desinai cōbr° elasera aspettai elfattore c̄h ādo alegnaia. e mi| disse io tornero a buonotta e nō torno. cenai l° grapolo duua e nō alt°| lunedj| adi 16 martedj comīciai quella figura e la sera cenai ūpoco di carnaccia| c̄h mi fece pocopro c̄h batista disse c̄h io miprouedessi pc̄h era stato| gridato da nocētj| mercoledi māgiai dua huoua neltegame.| giouedi mattina cacai dua strōzoli nō liquidj edrēto nusciua c̄h se fu-|sino lucignoli lūghi di bābagia cioe grasso biancho easai bene| cenai ī sāL° ūpoco dj lesso asaj buono efinj lafigura| uenerdj. pesce e l° huouo| sabato batista euenuto p tucti e colori

macinati epenegli e olio| elasera cenai dua huoua pere e l^{a} mezetta diuino uue e cacio| domenica cenai cō brō. elamatina batista ādo alegnaia etorno lasera| adi 22 lunedi desinai cōdaniello elasera cenai cō br^{o}. eho difetto ī sulagola c̄h io| nōposso īghiottire. ebatista nōtorno: eldi apūtai quello cartone c̄h bat^{a} porto| martedi stetti diguno enōcenai duolmj l^{o} dēte e feci l^{o} pezodipanno|

VI

mercoledi sera cenai zucha lessa ō 16 dipane edeluua| giouedi desinai cō br^{o} elasera nōcenaj| uenerdj feci quella testa c̄h guarda ī qua cioe di quello foglo c̄h io portai| c̄h sta cosi| sabato| domenica| lunedj| 30 martedj comīciai lafigura| mercoledi īsino alagāba| adj p^{o}| dagosto| giouedj feci lagāba. elasera cenai cōpiero ūpaio dipipionj lessj| uenerdi feci el bracio c̄h sapogia| sabato quella testa de la figura c̄h le sotto c̄h sta cosi| domenica cenai īcasa daniello cōbrō c̄h fu alle polpette| lunedj| martedi| mercoledj quella testa c̄h lafigura gliposa lamano ī capo| giovedj cenai ūpoco di buonacarne efeci quelcapo cō laloro| uenerdj. lauoraj estetti diguno c̄h fulauilia disā L^{o}| sabato eldi prouai ateso — e alterami lostomaco| domenica mattina stetti subito leuato c̄h io fui euestito nelorto c̄h era| fresco. ūbuōdato auedere certi disegni c̄h mi mostro fuscellino| epati fredo enōso p̄h misi sdegno lostomaco lasera cenai cōbrō^{o}| popone e l^{o} pipione elamattj dipoi mi sētiuo male epareuami auer lafebre| lunedi matti haueuo efebre e lostomaco sdegnato cenai c̄h nō mi piaque| nulla neluino māgiai ō 7 dipane carne e poca epoco bere ō l^{a} dimādor . . . | martedi sera l^{a} curatella i^{a} pesca ō 12 dipane e o miglore gusto| ecomīciaj latesta diquella figura c̄h sta cosj| mercoledi ebraccio| 15 — giouedi:| uenerdj elcorpo| sabato lecosce| domenica| lunedi martedj — comīciaj quelle rene sotto alla testa| mercoledi. lafinj.| giouedi uenerdi sabato domenica desinai cō br^{o} enōudi messa| adj 2 lunedi comīciaj afare sop^{a} l^{a} cornice martedi feci latesta di q^{a} figura| ebi l^{o} barile dolio|

VII

mercoledi īsino afiāchj elasera comīcio apiouere| giouedj lecosce e fiāchj| uenerdj elbraccio| sabato quella testa dimorto c̄h gle alato| Domenjca c̄h fu ladonna desinaj cō brō elaseracenaj cō grā dogla didēti| lunedi ebi sturbo e ī bas^{o} enō lauoraj eīsino asabato stetti īcasa| adisegnare domenica desinai cō br^{o} elasera nōcenaj| lunedi disegnai| martedi comīciaj quellafigura sotto alla testa| mercoledj elcorpo sotto a le poppe g| giouedi tutta la gāba| uenerdi pioue| sabato fu scō matteo| domenica| domenica adj 5 dottob. batista ādo alpogio elasera| cenaj tucte cosacce e diuogla erestomj el duolo de dētj| lunedi māgiai castrone īsalata uue e cacio e ō 15 dipane| efeci quellatesta c̄h e sotto aquella figura disegnata di sop^{a}| martedi feci quella alt^{a} testa c̄h gle alato emercoledi elresto| sabato vi fecj quelcorpo| domenica desinaj cō br^{o} uermicegli| lunedj quello elmo| martedi quella testa cosi| mercoledj. quel busto elasera nō cenaj| giovedi quel braccio elasera cenai l^{o} pesce duouo| uenerdi elcorpo c̄h fu scā luca cenai uoue e ō 14 dipane e l^{o} cauolo| sabato elbraccio e doue e siede cenai huoua e ō 9 dipane e 2 fichi sech . . .| domenica desjnaj cō brō uermicegli elasera cenauj| lunedi martedi mercoledi giovedi uenerdj lauorai sotto a detta figura diseg^{o}| īsino alcornicione sabato ordinaj elcartone c̄h ghera alato cenaj l^{o} ca| uolobuono cotto dimia| mano elanotte mi leuaj| i^{a} scegia dū dēte e māgio| ū poco meglo| Domenica elunedi cossi dame ūpoco diuitella| c̄h mi cōpo b^{a}a estetti queduo di īcasa adisegnar̄| e cenai quelle 3 sere dame solo|

VIII

martedi adi 29 dottob| mercoledi 30| nouēb adi p° uenerdi mattina desinai cōbr° āguilla cōpesci darno| sabato domenica elunedi. fu fredo.| adi 9 feci quella testa c̄h e sotto aquella| figura c̄h sta cosi| adi 16 uēnequello cartone eportossi quellalt° easettalo pcomīciare| alauorare eldi dināzj fu l° bellissimo di sāza nugolj esāza fredo| adi 12 rifeci quella testa c̄h e cosa daricordarsj quale / cioe ī martedj| adj 17 desinaj cō br° e cenaj esetti tuctodi ī casa elamattina pagai| l° miglacio elasera cenauj efuel di c̄h b°a mi uēne adire de fratj| adi 18 nōlauoraj e ādai aparlare afratj| adi 19 lauoraj que 2 testi dimortj c̄h sono sotto alculo dicolej| adi 20 sibollj clbucato| adj 24 desinai cō br° c̄h uera la madre dela maria c̄h mi pmise| l° pane| dirame|rino| bello| adj 27 comicaj sotto aquelle figure c̄h stano cosi| adi 28| adi 29| adi 30 fuscā andrea c̄h cenai cōpiero e donomj 50 fichi sechj| domenica mattina desinaj cō br° elasera cō daniello l^a lepre| e c̄h uenne luca martinj ī firēze| lunedi martedj mercoledj giouedj uenerdj fu scā nicolo c̄h fu l° bello| di e edurato ī sī aogi c̄h siano adi 9 de dicēb| adi 8 cenaj lasera cō br° pollastrinj mortj dalla faina erecane delpane diramerino| lunedi cenai quella līgua diporco| martedj cenaj īcasa daniello cō m̄ luca martinj eluarchi| mercoledj cenaj dua huoua i^a īsalata dīuidia ō 14 dipane efichj sechj euino| giouedi cenaj carne dicastrone c̄h fu lasera delle diuisione| adj 13 uenerdi cenaj dame ccomīciaj afare dame ebatista siserro ī cam̄era| sabato cenaj cō brō c̄m luca l° pesce| domenica adi 22 desinai cō br° ep'ma adi 20 c̄h fueluenerdj delle digune| comīcio eltēpo arischiarare cōuēto buono e acōciarsi eedurato otto di īterj| ep'ma era stato ūmese tuctauia o poco a asaj ogni di apiouere cō certo| ī grassamēto dusci e dumido dimura quāto io miricordj a grā pezo| talc̄h glagenerato aq° beltēpo scesi rouino c̄h presto amazano

IX

1556

pagolo[1] daterra rossa morj lauilia dipasqua| cioe adi 24 cenaj ī casa br° luca martinj etucti dicasa daniello| lamattina dipasqua desinaj ecenaj quiuj| adi 26 ādamo asā frāc° etornamo adesinare c̄h uera lalexādra| cō mona lucretia estemouj lasera etornamo tuctj a le 6 hore| adi 27 ādamo br° eio amōte oliueto estemo tuctamattina cō giouābatista| strozj[2] tornamo tardj eio stetti īsino alasera digiuno ecenaj īcasa mia| adj 28 ādamo auolsāminiato edesinamo aloste espēdemo s 20 p l° erauamo 5| elasera nō cenaj| adj 29 domenica mattina ādamo īsino asādomenico tornamo tardj ī modo c̄h io| nōuollj desinare ēdugaj alasera īcasa danjello| lunedj cenaj ī casa| martedj cenaj ī casa| adj p°| genai| 1556| mercoledj desinaj cō br° ecenaj atauiano eio l° germano| giouedj sera cenai porco lesso e l° farciglo ebatista nō uolle cenare| uenerdj cenai cō br° l° pesce c̄h midette elpadouano l° limone e deluoua| sabato mattina comīcio apiovere eaguastarsi eltēpo c̄hra durato bello| dieci di c̄h maj nō fu l° nugolo elasera tornaj cō l° pitocho c̄h migosto| lire 12 eriscōtraj ba° c̄h porto quatro scudj afrati dellapigione| domenica desinaj cō br°| la befania lunedj. ādamo aspasso emāgiorno pane di miglio poi lasera cenaj cōdanielo| martedj| mercoledj| giouedj sera cenai colp'ore denocēti lui eio solj agelatina e huoua| uenerdi adi 10 ahore 24 l° carro mistrīse leginochia rasēte l° muriciuolo| e ba° uenne acasa p haucre danarj dalattāzio| sabato ebe △ dua eportogli a frati p lapigione| domenica piove e fu grā uēto efreddo

[1] This was perhaps Pagolo il Rosso, Varchi's friend.
[2] The celebrated poet.

tucto eldi eio comīciaj| amāgiare su dame. lº pezo darista ecosi martedi uene abotega del gello mercoledj| adj 15 sera brō uene acasa p me cō ottauiano pc̄h io ādassi acenaseco eio dalospetiale| delcapello la lasaj enō miruede| giouedj sera cenaj giu colfattore huoua| scā ātoi|nio| uenerdi sera huoua ī lº tegamino| sabato sera huoua ī lº tegamino|

X

domenica sera cenaj cōpiero tordi lissj earosto c̄h glelo auea pmesso| lamattina dasāpiero e lasera altardj brº eatauiano passorno| efui apto loro luscio dalfattore sēza fermarsj solo disse c̄h di facº| poi ī su le 2 hore attauiano ueñe apichiare domādādo dime| didēdo c̄h lalesādra miuoleua dice elfattore| adi 20| scº baº| lunedj pioue tucto eldj. scosse rouinose egrātuonj ebalenj| elasera cenai lº resto dītingolo edarista auāzata digiouedi borana| cotta ō 9 dipane e ō 4 di pane diramerino| adi 21 pioue tuctoeldj cenaj dua huoua laª libra dipane laª īsalata| adj 22 cenai porco lesso e lº poco dicauolo epane diramerino ō 9 dipane| adj 23 giouedi cenaj castrone ebiādare cōbatista abelochio erecane| ecenamo īsieme e ucelomj duo dj dicēdo c̄h nō netrouaua| adi 24 cenai ō 10 dipane borana ecacio e dua huoua| adi 25 baº micōpo 20 mele 10 qⁱ ecenai dua huoua eiª īsalata| adi 26 tornādo acasa ahore 24 fui sopª gūto da atauiano daniello| elalezādra e altʳe donne c̄h ueniuano p me c̄h io ādassi acasa brº| ādamo efecesi ueglia īsino ahore 12| adi 27 cenai īcasa 12 ō dipane emele cotte| adi 28 desinai cōbrº colōbascj| adi 29 cenai dua huoua| adi 30 castrone c̄h cōpo batista 9 qⁱ| adi 31 huoua| febraio adi 5 huoua| adi 2 desinaj cō brº ecenaj īcasa daniello lasera| adi 3 cenai iª torta cō lacarne di mia mano| adi 4 cenaj lº pesce duoua colcacio| adi 5 ūpoco dicastrone.| adi 6 comīciai alauorare ecenaj porcho arosto| adi 7 uenerdi cenaj ūpesce duouo colcacio| adi 8 cenai lº pesce duouo elamattina ebi 12 staia di brace| el fattore fece delpane cioe menacilia edisse pc̄h| io laueuo mādato p lº fiascho di uino c̄h io nō gli co|mādassj piu o c̄h io facessj dame o io toglessj chj i| facessi elasera lasaj fenita quella figura disegnata|

XI

difebraio 1556

domenica adj 16 desinaj cō brº elasera cenaj īcasa| daniello brº e attauiano eio aspettādo daniello ī sino alle 5 hrᵉ| lunedj sera māgiaj ūpoco di buec̄h baº micōpo| c̄h nō arebe māgiato ecanj come quello c̄h nō emeglo| c̄h glatri toglendo pse elbuono lato / e luj sanio| martedi. cenai di quello bue| mercoledj baº micōpo 28 qⁱ darista. cenaj dua huoua ō 10 djpaⁿᵉ| berlīga|ccio giouedi cenaj acasa brº e fecj queltorso diqella figª c̄h sta cosi| uenerdj cenaj 2 huoua cacio efichi sechj| sabato iª torta neltegamuzo ebaº mireco s 15 diuitella egraso| domenica desinai ecenai cō brº elasera sifece laueghia c̄h uera| eluarchi| lunedi sera īcasa daniello c̄h zāndo auedere lacomedia ī uia magio| martedi fu lº grāfredo eneuico lanocte eio cenai iº cauolo īcasamia| mercoledi| adi 20 giouedj feci quella testa c̄h grida ecenai lasera uitella| ēsino ī 29 lascaj finito tucto īsino īterra quel c̄h sotto adettatesta| marzo adi 3 feci latesta di quellafigura disegnata qui| adj 4 dimarzo fecj iº pezo ditorso ī sino alepope e pati fredo euēto| tale c̄h lanocte io afiocaj elaltº dipoi nō potei lauorare| adi 6 fecitucto eltorso| adi 7 fornj legābe| adi 8 —— ādai auedere lº hercole cōelrotella| lunedj 9 feci laª testa sottole| martedi ādaj auedere latauola di brº cioe quello sābartolomeo| mercoledi laª testa sottole|

giouedi leuaj le bullette c̄herano cōfitte lasu alto| uenerdj iª testa sottole| ī tonicai dame iª testa ebi della pigione lire 4| sabato 14 lasera ādai auedere quella testa di sādrino c̄h mapse lales|ādra c̄h senādo| uia e ītalsera| cenai cō| piero| c̄h uera| 15 domenica fupichiato dabrº epoi eldi dadanjello nō so| quello c̄h siuolessino| 18 fecj quello ītonico dimacigno sotto alefinestre|

XII

5 la finita| giouedi 19 riscōtraj daniello e attauiano c̄h mi uoleuano| dare desinare epoi scrōtraj brº da sālorēzo c̄h mādaua| lasua tauola apisa| uenerdi| sabato| domenica uēne brº daniello e atauiano acasa eio cōpai canne| esalci p lorto e brº miuoleua adesinare eturdādosi midisse| epare c̄h uoj uegnate acasa lº urō nimjco e lasciomi ire| elunedj sera cenai īcasa daniello lº capretto di s 34 molto| buono c̄h uera brº sādrino e gulio eio cītaldi lalesādra si| rupe elcapo cō certj ēbricj| martedi sera mādai p lº fiasco dibiācho a gaddj soldi ii| adi 25 mercoledi laluna opositjone| adi 26 cōmīciai quello braccio di quel bābino c̄h gle sotto| uenerdi mileuai iª hora ī anzj di efeci quel torso dalbraccio ī giu| sabato feci iª coscia efecesi la festa dellatregua elasera cossi lº riso| decauretto| adi 29 domenica delluliuo desinai cō brº| lunedj feci latesta diquelputto.| martedi feci īcasa nō so c̄h| adi lº da|p'le mercoledi feci questa altra coscia cō tucta lagāba elpie| giouedi scō| uenerdi mileuaj abuonora e feci quel torso dibābino| giouedi feci lc gābe adi 9| uenerdj lº capo azurro eādai acena cōpicro| sabato fecj sotto alcfinestre diuerso la -S- uechia quellapietra| cjtorno aquella figura c̄h uiua emañdaj gli sparagi e nōuj| cenaj acasa piero| domenica cbi lº berlingozo damena ugenia eādai acena cō brº.| lunedi lauorai quelgli docioni sotto alefinestre| pier frācº / martedj mercoledi sasetto elpalco. da poter lauorare|

XIII

13 giouedi mileuaj iª hora ī āzj di ecomīciai quella figura| sotto alatesta c̄h sta cosi| uenerdi eltorso| 18 dap'le sabato legābe| lunedi sottole īsino īsulcoro| adi 6 dimagio uēdei 20 stª digrano e ebi iª poliza delmonte 6 [scudi]| adi pº dimagio uenerdj sabato| domenica desinaj cō brº c̄h fu scā ✠| lunedi comīciai quella figura c̄h sta cosi| martedi feci latesta| mercoledi eltorso 6 [scudi]| giouedi legābe| uenerdi esabato sotto le . . .| domenica desinai ecenai cōbrº — eādamo aspasso dalla porta alprato| martedi comīciai quel braccio di quella figª c̄h sta cosi| mercoledi laltº braccio elagāba c̄h fu la uiłia dellascēsione| 14 giouedi cenai edesinai cō brº| uenerdi esabato fini lafigura| domenica desinaj cō brº elasera nō cenaj ecomīciaj anōmisētire bene| lunedi sera ī sule 2 hore uenne lº tēpo cōtuonj ebalenj eaqua efreddo| eācordura c̄h siano amercoledj apiouere ogni di c̄h p'maerastato| 2 mesj beltēpo| 28 giouedi comīcia quella figura c̄h sta cosj sotto alla testa| uenerdi la fini — sabato feci quello libro| domenica nō desinai e lasera cenai cōpiero lº paio dipipionj| lunedi adi pº digugno feci quello moretto| adi 7 desinai ecenai cōbrº elasera sisēti| male| adi 9 comīciaj quella figura c̄h sta cosi ——| 10 ī mercoledi| giouedi| uenerdi sabato feci quello poco del braccio elasala finita c̄h|

XIV

c̄h e tucta finita difigure ītere iª storia| domenica sera cenai cōpiero torta di latte| lunedi adi 15| lacioltre daelrotella| uenerdi adi 19 comīciaj quella figura c̄h sta cosi| sabato feci lebraccia| domenica 2i fui trouato da brº īscā

maria delfiore| epromessj dādare adesinare seco chi haueuano poi aire| auedere eltoro elasera erorimasto dicenaruj e mādaj| p l° fiasco diuino apiero c̄h uera lalesādra etornamocene īsiene| dispiaquemj ūbuōdato lacena tale c̄h io stetti diguno ī sino amarte| dj sera c̄h beui diqueltrebiano c̄h di uinegia e 2 huoua| eaueuo fatto amazare quello galletto c̄h si gitto uia| adj 24 mercoledj sera ecenaj cōdaniello c̄h uera elmarignolle[1] e br°| giouedj feci quelle 2 teste segnate disop[a] efui° tēpo edipiouere| edituoni edifredo straordinario| uenerdi sirimuro tucte quelle buc̄h di sul coro dj quella p' ma sto[r]| sabato feci quelle dua braccia e nō cenaj| domenica 28 desinai cō br° elasera cenai c̄h fuq̄do e cōpo certi pes|ci ec̄h noj ādamo alprato ognisātj c̄h uera sādrino ebernardo| lunedi. feci qellateretta. martedi quellaltr[a] teretta| adj p° di luglio mercoledi giouedi uenerdi sabato la sera nō cenaj djsegnaj| 5 domenica. desinai cōbr° c̄h fu quella mattina c̄h io lotrouaj| da scā maria delfiore c̄hera cōatauiano e parlaua cō m̄| lorēzo puccj c̄hero auiato cōpare lalattuga pratese| elasera cenauj c̄h fuq̄do io mādaj apiero peluino a s 9| 12 domenica| 14 martedi comīcciai eltorso diquella figura grāde mero quel poco di bra°| giouedisirimuro le dua buc̄h sabato quelle schiene c̄h glisono sotto di qua| 19 domenica mattina desinai cōbr° elasera cōpiero torta diper|rogie elsabato ināzi cenaj quel pezo ditīcha cioe lasera īāz|

XV

(15) 20 lunedi sera luglo cenai estetti diguno ī sino amercoledj sera| feci quello pezo dibra° e l° pezo digāba diquelle schie|ne dette martedi chiesi c̄h bt[a] cocessi.| 22 mercoledi feci quella testa equello poco della spalla cenai cō| daniello| giouedi feci ī quelcāto ī sulcoro della storia finita| uenerdi feci quella gāba diquella figura grāde ītera| adi 20 detto lasera. lamattina ebi l° mogio digrano lasera mj| lauaj epiedi. e pcossj ne luscio cō l° calcio tale c̄hio mi| feci male e duolmj īsino aogi c̄h siano adi 25 cioe| — 5 sabato feci quella coscia grāde| domenica desinai cōpiero uitella e lasera nōcenai| lunedi mileuaj abuonora e feci quellotorso c̄h e sotto| mercoledi feci quello stīco della coscia grāde| uenerdi seracenai cōpiero pesce abatista lascio lapoli cosi| c̄h deceua c̄h nōtornaua c̄h fu q̄do egli acatto el giachio| cercha alauoro da di detto disop[a] cioe 29 di luglo| īsino adj 26 dagosto ioho fatto quella figura nō uestita| ditesta cō quelpoco dellaria e ordinato el scō lorēzo| circa elmāgiare portai i[a] gallina ecenai cōbrō| elasera uiceno danjello e attauiano espeseno 3 lire| c̄hmitocha soldi 20 e l° giouedi sera ui cenai c̄he brōzo| cōpo pmio cōto l° poco dj castrone| adj 27 detto portai el cartone del scō lorēzo eapicossi dapoterlauorare| adj 10 disettēb fece m[a] adia delpane l° quarto|

XVI

1556

adi 11 disettēb ībottaj 3 b[i] e 2 / 1 diuino dacalēzano| elasera cenaj cōpiero| sabato feci quella testa diquel bābino c̄htiene lacorona| 13 domenica cenai īcasa dajello c̄h uera br° i[a] testa diuitella| c̄h spesi 2 barilj| lunedj lacorona mercoledi c̄h fuledigune feci quel braccio| giouedj uenerdj feci eltorso elasera nōcenaj (d 48)| sabato legābe cenai i[a] lib[a] dipane| 20 domenica lunedi c̄hfusc° matteo tuctauia i[a] lib dipane| emartedi c̄h nō lauoraj| mercoledi cōmīciaj quello bābino del calice ecenaj ō 8 di pan(e)| adj 26 īsabato sera ādamo alla tauerna attauiano e brōzoeio| cenamo pescj ehuoua euino uechio e tocho s

[1] Probably Lorenzo Marignolli, the sculptor.

17 p l°| domenica. desinai cō br° / elasera uicenaj c̄huera attauiano| lunedi ī casa| martedi c̄h fu scō mjc̄hle uidesinaj elasera uicenai c̄h| cera uenuto luca martinj: (mercoledj acasa| giouedi sera uicenaj c̄h uera eluarchj e m̄ luca elamattin(a) senādo apisa c̄h fu īuenerdj| sabato piove tucta nocte e mezo el dj edesinaj zuc̄h fritte cō| brō° erecane l° fischo di colore| 4 domenica ādaj a sāfrāc° estettj tucto eldi tornaj ecenaj l° lesso| di castrone e ebi l° fiasco diuino uechio dal busino| lunedj feci quelcapo di quel bābino ī capegli cenaj 2 ucellin(i) martedi mileuaj i^a hora ī āzj dj efeci queltorso del putto c̄h ha| clealice elasera cenaj castrone buono maio ho male alla| gola cioe nōposso sputare i^a cosa apicata c̄h io soglo auere| adi ii domenica ādai acertosa elasera cenaj (daniello gulio alpiouano| anguilla arosto c̄h toco s 15| adi 18 domenica desinaj cōpiero castrone elasera cenai ī casa br°| fegato fritto [uenerdi comīcio aēē fredo elasera cenamo alla tauerna|

XVII

(17) ⊙ elunedi sera cōbrōzo c̄h ui uenne luca martinj e tasso pollo elepre e ō 8 dipane| martedi sera cenai ūpoco dicastrone cō 10 dipane ecomīciomj a^ri piacere| eluino dipiero dormēdo bene lanocte| mercoledi sera c̄h sono ledigune nō cenai eancora ho quella bocaccia asetata| giouedj sera c̄h fu lauilia di scō tomaso cenaj borrana cocta edua huoua ecosi| uenerdi sera tāto c̄h ī dua sere io māgiai 27 ō dipane| esabato sera D. ī sino alla domenica sera c̄h cenai ūpoco dicarne arosto| lunedi c̄h fu lauilia della pasqua cenai ī casa brōzo e īsino alasera stettj| ecenaj seco i^a acegia la secōda festa lamattina a lasera māgiai quiui| e lasera di scō giouannj cenai cō daniello bene diquegli farciglonj e ō 8 dipane| uenerdj e sabato magiai īcasa ō 30 dipane huoua burro e altre cose| domenica sera cenai porco arosto e ō 16 dipane| lunedj: i^a isalata diborana e l° pesce duouo e ō 19 dipane| genaio marte. c̄h fu Kalēdj cenaj cōbrōzo ō 10 dipane| mercole. cenai ō 14 dipane arista. i^a īsalata dīuidia e cacio e fichi sechi| giouedj cenai ō 15 dipane| uenerdi ō 14 dipane| sabato nō cenai| domenica matina desinai e cenai cō brōzo miglacj efegategi (elporco)| lunedi sera cenai ō 14 dipane arista uue e cacio e īsalata dīuidia| martedi sera cenai i^a īsalata dīuidia ō ii dipane l° rochio e mele cocte ītīgolo| mercoledj sera e giouedj sera ō 24 dipane c̄h māgiai porco lesso neluino| adi 11 digenaio ī uenerdj dasera ō 11 dipane īuidia l° pesce duouo| adi 12 cenai l° pesce duouo īsalata dīuidia ō 12 dipane e ī talsera| ēpici la botte delujno dipiero c̄h ne leuaj 17 fiaschi eaēpierla seruj 13 fiaschj| ī tucto restomene quatro fiaschi e prima naueuo autj īsino adi detto fiaschi 6| ī modo c̄h itucto sono fiaschj 23 eī detto di na auto dame l° barile diuino delmio| domenica desinai ecenai īcasa br° adi 13 digenaio 1555| lunedi ādai a sāminiato cenai l° rochio disalsicia ō 10 dipane| martedi l° lōbo īuidia e l^a libra dipane gelatina e fichi sechi e cacio| adi 20 cenai ī casa daniello i^a gallina dīdia c̄h uera attauiano c̄h fu ī domenica sera| adj 27 dj genaio desinai ecenai īcasa b° eueneui dopo desinare lalesādra e stette īsino| asera epoi senādo efuquella sera c̄h b° eio uenimo acasa auedere elpetrarcha cioe fiāchi stomachj ec epagai quello c̄h sera gucato| (....alta daso...ne 5)|

XVIII

(18) disorte c̄h setitroua disordinato dexercitio / dipannj| odicoito o di supfluita dimāgiare puo eīpochi giornj| spaciartj o fartimale p ho edausare laprudētia| gugno luglo eagosto e meza settēb^r esudori tēperatj esop^a tucto

aluēto q̄do hai fatto exercitio hai hauere cura| eancora del māgiare ebere q̄do se caldo dipoj tiprepara| damezo settēb īla allo autunno c̄h̄ p ec edi picolj eltēpo| comīciare humido elumidita del bere supfluo c̄h̄ hai fatto| nella state tibisogna cō diguni epoco bere elūghe uigilie| e exercitio p parartj c̄h̄ efredj delucrno nōti nuochino| nō titrouādo bene disposto enō frequētare tropo lacarne| emaximc delporcho cdamezo gcnaio īla nō ne māgiare| pc̄h̄ e molto febricosa ccattiua euiui dogni cosa tēperato| p c̄h̄ le sachate deglomorj edelle scesc siscuoprano alfebraio| almarzo e allo ap'le p c̄h̄ nelucrno elfredo glicōgela| e abi cura c̄h̄alleuolte secōdo chome achade nella luna eē lo fredo| epoi subito īhumidire ogni cosa cōgelata ediqui nasce|

XIX

(19) sccse moltorouinose egociolc o alt^{i} mali picolosj| c̄h̄ tucto procede q̄do e que fredj māgiato ebeuto| supfluo pc̄h̄ elfredo telo cōporta erapiglia masubito| altēpo dolcie ehumj do loriscalda ericresce erigōfia| e po chome io dissj disop^{a} .i. nelprīcipio q̄do se aq^{o}| modo carico habi cura allo exercitio delrafreddare| pc̄h̄ uccide o subito o īpochj giornj sic̄h̄ se haj| humorj supfluj aquistatj lauernata tienj lordine| c̄h̄ io djssj dsop^{a} e sop^{a} tucto sta ī ceruello elmarzo| emaxime nella luna 10 di p'ma e 10 poi cioe alcomīciare della luna nuoua dimarzo esia īsino a| passata la quīta dicima c̄h̄ tucte le lune c̄h̄ sēpiono sono nociuc se l^{o} e ripieno e īporta riguardarsi p'ma| Ricordo adj 5 dinouēb 1555 c̄h̄ mipare c̄h̄ ebi sognj c̄h̄ io comūch| io ho qualc̄h̄ īpedimēto o distomaco o dicapo o didogle pe fianchj| o alle gābe o bracca o didētj: c̄h̄ siano cōtinouj enō bisogna c̄h̄ io feccj| come p ladreto mac̄h̄ subito io uirimedj colmāgiare poco ocōlostare| diguno e īgegnarsj ple 4 tēpora oseruare edigiunj comādatj pc̄h̄| e dipiu auiene aleuolte sētirsj pieno delmāgiare agrauato dal| somo e dalcibo c̄h̄ pare chiosia gōfiato alora e da riguardarsj| pc̄h̄ e sanita superflua|

nelanno 1555 p la luna c̄h̄comīcio dimarzo e duro īsino adi 25 dap'le ītucto quella luna| naqai īfermjta pestjfere c̄h̄ amazorno dimolti huominj regalatj ebuonj e forse| sēza disordinj e atuctj sicuaua sāgue credo c̄h̄ gla uenissi c̄h̄ elfredo nō| fu digenaio esfogossi ī q^{a} luna dimarzo c̄h̄ si sētiua l^{o} fredo uelenoso|

io conosco c̄h̄ nō lo facē do io me ne pēto

XX

20 ī domenica sera

adj 7 digenaio 1554 caddj epcossj laspalla elb^{o} estettj male| e stettj acasa br^{o} sei di poi mene tornaj acasa estettj male īsino| acarnauale c̄h̄ fu adi 6 difebraio 1554|

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sordo cōbattere colaria rīfocolata dalastagione degiornj grādi| c̄h̄era come sētire frigere elfuoco nelaqua talc̄h̄io sono stato cōgrā| paura eluātagio e stare preparato īnāzj c̄h̄ ētri la luna dimarzo| c̄h̄ la titruouj sobrio dicibo dexercitio ecō grā riguardo delsudore| cnōsisbigottire c̄h̄ passata c̄h̄ le dipochj giornj luomo nō sa chome| lasistia o dōde siuēgha c̄h̄ dimaldjsposto subito luomo sisēte bene| come īteruiene ame ogi q^{o} dj 22 dap'le delp^{o} giorno della luna nuoua| sētirmj bene e p adreto mai eē mj mai sētito bene tucto dee procedere| da l^{o} certo fredo c̄h̄ nō era ācora smaltito ehauea durato īsino adi 21| ma ogi q^{o} di sop^{a} detto mefatto caldo esētomj bene pc̄h̄ eltēpo ha forse la| stagione sua.|

XXI

Iĥs

21

adj ii dimarzo 1554 ī domenjca mattina desinaj cō brōzino| pollo euitella esētimj bene [ueroe cĥ uenēdo p'me acasa ioero| neletto era asaj be tardj eleuādomj mi sētiuo gōfiato epieno era| asaj beldj] lasera cenaj ūpoco di carne secha arosto cĥ haueuo sete| elunedj sera cenaj l° cauolo e l° pesce duouo| elmartedj sera cenai l^{a} meza testa dicauretto e laminestra| elmercoledi sera lalt^{a} meza fritta edelzibibo l° buō data e 5 q^{i} dipane e caperj| ī insalata| giouedi sera l^{a} minestra dibuono castrone e īsalata dibarbe| uenerdj sera īsalata dibarbe e dua huoua ī pesce duouo| sabato D, domenica sera cĥ fu lasera delluliuo cenaj l° poco dicastrone ne lesso emāgiai l° poco disalata| e douetti māgiare da tre quatrinj dipane| lunedj sera dopocena misētj molto gagliardo ebēdisposto māgiai| īsalata dilattuga i^{a} minestrina dibuono castrone e 4 q^{i} dipane| martedj sera māgiai i^{a} īsalata dilattuga e l° pesce duouo| mercoledj scō sera 2 q^{i} dimādorle c l° pesce duouo e noce efeci quella figura| cĥ e sop^{a} la zucha| giouedj sera i^{a} īsalata dilattuga edeleauiale e e l° huouo| uenerdj sera l° pesce duouo della faua c l° poco dicauialc e 4 q^{i} dipane sabato sera māgiai dua huoua| ela donna domenica cĥ fu lamattina dipascua ādai adesinare cō brō elasera cenauj| lunedi sera māgiai i^{a} īsalata cĥera diborana e l° mezo limone e 2 huo|ua īpesce duouo.| Martedisera erotucto afiocato e māgiai i° pane diramereno e l° p^{e} duouo| ei^{a} īsalata e defichj seehj| mercoledi D| giouedi sera l° p^{ane} dir° l° p^{e} duno huouo e l^{a} īsalata e 4 q^{i} dipane ītucto| uenerdi sera īsalata minestra dipisegli e l° pesce duouo c 5 q^{i} dipane| sabato burro īsalata zucĥro epesce duouo| adi i dap'le domenica desinaj cō br° elasera nō cenaj|

gioued matti
na miuene
el capo girlo
cĥ mi duro tucto
dj e dapoi sono
stato tuctauia
maldisposto
e del capo debole

uene la D ascō
lō el duea
uene anco

XXII

lunedi sera cenai i° pane bollito col bnrro e l° pesce duouo c 21 ō ditorta| martedj| mercoledi| giouedj| uenerdj| sabato ādai alatauerna āsalata epesce duouj ecacio esētimj bene| domenica desinai ecenaj cō brōzino| lunedi l° armoneino lesso dagnello buono| martedj dua huoua afrettelate ei^{a} īsalata| mercoledj| giouedj sera 4 q^{i} dipane l^{a} īsalata dello agnello lesso malcotto| adj 13 — uenerdj sera cenai radichio cotto l° pane di 4 q^{i} e l° pesce duouo| sabato sera| domenica sera cenai carne dagnello lesso e īsalata cocta ecacio| mercoledi adj 23 dimagio cenaj dellacarne| giouedi cĥ fuel corp° dnj desinaj cōbrōzino ebi delgreco carne| epesci elasera i^{a} oc^{a} ditorta cōpoca carne epoca uogla dimāgiare| adj 2 digugno sabato sera ebi lasegiola cĥ miuiene ljre 16| adj 9 digugno 1554 comīcio marco moro amurare elcoro eturare i scō lorēzo:|

* adi 18 lasera discoluca comīciai adormire giu col coltrone nuouo| adj 19 dottoƀ misētiuo male cioe īfredato e dipoi nō poteuo riauere| lospurgho e cōgrā fatica duro parechj sere uscire djquella cosa| sotto dellagola come alle uolte io ho hauto distate nō so se se stato| p eē durato ūbuondato bellissimj tēpi emāgiato tuttauia bene| eadi detto comīciaj ariguar darmj ūpoco eduromj 3 di 30 ōce dipane| cioe 10 ōce apasto cioe l^{a} uolta eldj ecō poco bere ep'ma adj 16| didetto ībottaj barili 6 djuino daradda|

XXIII

1554

23

adj 22 detto tornai estettj īcasa solo aspettare elfattore īsino alle 4| hore edipoi māgiai iº pesce duouo 8 ōce dipane iª noce e lº fico secho| e dua meluze cotte| adj 23 la sera māgiai minestra dicastrone lesso e dua mele cotte e 10 ōce dipane| e lº meza mezetta diuino ecomīciato amanomettere la botte.

Reconstruction of the Sequence of the Pages of Pontormo's Diary

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Analysis of Pontormo's Diary

1554

Sunday, January 7, he falls, hurts himself and remains six days with Bronzino who nurses him; he is ill until Tuesday, February 6 (Carnival).

Sunday, March 11, lunches with Bronzino; the food; his health; the weather; in the evening sups at home; his food; his thirst. Monday, 12th, his food. Tuesday, the 13th, *idem*. Wednesday, 14th, *idem*. Thursday, 15th, *idem*; he is ill. Friday, 16th, his food. Saturday, 17th, fasts. Sunday, 18th (Palm Sunday), his food; its cost. Monday, 19th, he feels well; his food. Tuesday, 20th, his food. Wednesday, 21st (Ash Wednesday), San Lorenzo; his food. Thursday, 22d, his food; the Duke comes to San Lorenzo with the Duchess. Friday, 23d, his food. Saturday, 24th, his food. Sunday, 25th (Easter) lunches and sups with Bronzino (Annunciation). Monday, 26th, his food. Tuesday, 27th, he feels hoarse; his food. Wednesday, 28th, fasts. Thursday, 29th, his food. Friday, 30th, *idem*. Saturday, 31st, his food.

Sunday, April 1, lunches with Bronzino; in the evening, fasts. Monday, 2d, his food. Saturday, 7th, he goes to the tavern; he feels well; his food. Monday, 9th, his food. Tuesday, 10th, *idem*. Thursday, 12th, *idem*. Friday, 13th, *idem*. Sunday, 15th, *idem*.

Tuesday, May 22. Wednesday, 23d, his food. Thursday, 24th (Corpus Christi), lunches with Bronzino; his food; ill.

June 2, buys a chair for 16 lire. Saturday, 9th, Marco Moro begins working on the walls and scaffolding of San Lorenzo.

October 16, bottles six barrels of wine. 18th (St. Luke), begins to sleep downstairs with a new coverlet. 19th, ill with cold; suffers; the weather; his food; fasts.

Monday, December 17, spends evening at Bronzino's; Luca Martini; Tasso; his food. Tuesday, 18th, his food; he begins to feel and sleep better. Wednesday, 19th, fast day; fasts; feels ill. Thursday, 20th (Eve of St. Thomas), his food. Friday, 21st, his food. Saturday, 22d, fasts. Sunday, 23d, fasts; his food. Monday, 24th, sups with Bronzino; passes the evening there. Tuesday, 25th, lunches and sups at Bronzino's. Thursday, 27th (St. John's Day), sups at Bronzino's; his food. Friday, 28th, sups alone; his food. Saturday, 29th, sups alone; his food. Sunday, 30th, his food. Monday, 31st, *idem*.

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Tuesday, January 1, sups at Bronzino's; his food. Wednesday, 2d, his food. Thursday, 3d, *idem*. Friday, 4th, *idem*. Saturday, 5th, fasts. Sunday, 6th, lunches and sups at Bronzino's; his food. Monday, 7th, his food. Tuesday, 8th, *idem*. Wednesday, 9th, *idem*. Thursday, 10th, *idem*. Friday, 11th,

idem. Saturday, 12th, *idem;* puts his wine into "fiaschi"; notes how much wine he has. Sunday, 13th, lunches and sups at Bronzino's. Monday, 14th, goes to San Miniato; his food. Tuesday, 15th, his food. Sunday, 20th, sups at Daniello's; his food; Ottaviano. Sunday, 27th, lunches and sups at Bronzino's; Alessandra; Petrarcha. Wednesday, 30th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 31st, San Lorenzo; ill.

Friday, February 1, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 2d, his food; his health; the weather. Saturday, 16th, San Lorenzo; the weather. Thursday, 21st (Berlingaccio), sups at Bronzino's; his food. Wednesday, 27th (Ash Wednesday), the weather. Thursday, 28th, San Lorenzo.

Sunday, March 3, lunches at Bronzino's; his health; fasts. Monday, 4th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 10th, lunches and sups with Bronzino; food; Ottaviano; the weather. Monday, 11th, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 12th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 15th, San Lorenzo; his food. Saturday, 16th, San Lorenzo. Monday, 18th, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 19th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 20th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 21st, remains at home; bad weather. Friday, 22d, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 23d, San Lorenzo; his food. Monday, 25th, lunches at Bronzino's; sups at home; his food. Tuesday, 26th, San Lorenzo; his food; sonnet of Varchi's. Wednesday, 27th, San Lorenzo; his health. Thursday, 28th, his health. Friday, 29th, his health; fasts; San Lorenzo. Saturday, 30th, his food. Sunday, 31st, lunches at Daniello's; fasts in the evening.

Monday, April 1, his health; his food; ill. Wednesday, 3d, San Lorenzo; difficulties of the work; his food. Thursday, 4th, his food. Friday, 5th, San Lorenzo; his food; the weather. Saturday, 6th, sups at home. Sunday, 7th (Palm Sunday), lunches with Bronzino; food. Monday, 8th, his garden. Tuesday, 9th, San Lorenzo; his food. Wednesday, 10th, Ceccho fornaio; food. Thursday, 11th, food. Friday, 12th (Good Friday), his food. Saturday, 13th, San Lorenzo; the Duke comes to mass at San Lorenzo; fasts in the evening. Sunday, 14th (Easter), the weather; lunches at Bronzino's; food; fasts in the evening. Monday, 15th, the weather; sups at Daniello's; his food. Tuesday, 16th, the weather; food. Wednesday, 17th, the weather; stays at home; his food. Thursday, 18th, San Lorenzo; food; the weather. Friday, 19th, San Lorenzo; food; his health. Saturday, 20th, San Lorenzo; his food. Sunday, 21st, his food; his health; the weather; the moon. Monday, 22d, he feels well; food. Tuesday, 23d, sups at Piero's; food. Wednesday, 24th, he sups at Piero's; food. Thursday, 25th (St. Mark), sups at home. Friday, 26th, sups at Piero's. Saturday, 27th, sups at Piero's; San Lorenzo. Sunday, 28th, lunches at Bronzino's; fasts in the evening. Monday, 29th, sups at Piero's; food. Tuesday, 30th, his food.

Wednesday, May 1, food. Thursday, 2d, food. Friday, 3d (Holy Cross), sups at Piero's; food. Saturday, 4th, food. Sunday, 5th, food. Monday, 6th, *idem;* sells grain and buys a policy in the "Monte." Tuesday, 7th, *idem;* San Lorenzo; Tasso dies. Wednesday, 8th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 9th, San Lorenzo; sups at Daniello's; food. Friday, 10th, food. Saturday, 11th, sups at Piero's; food; he eats too much. Sunday, 12th, lunches at Bronzino's; fasts in the evening. Monday, 13th, food. Tuesday, 14th, San Lorenzo; food. Wednesday, 15th, San Lorenzo; his fatigue; food. Thursday,

16th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 17th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 18th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 19th, lunches and sups at Bronzino's; his peach-trees. Monday, 20th, San Lorenzo; food. Tuesday, 21st, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 22d, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 23d (Ascension), lunches at Bronzino's; sups at Daniello's. Friday, 24th, San Lorenzo; food. Saturday, 25th, food; he writes letters. Sunday, 26th, goes to San Francesco; lunches with Daniello; fasts in the evening. Wednesday, 29th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 30th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 31st, San Lorenzo.

Saturday, June 1, San Lorenzo; his food. Sunday, 2d (Pentecost), lunches at Bronzino's. Monday, 3d, spends the morning at Daniello's; the evening at home. Tuesday, 4th, spends the evening at Daniello's; food. Wednesday, 5th, stays at home; food; San Lorenzo. Thursday, 6th, San Lorenzo; food. Friday, 7th, San Lorenzo; food; fatigue. Saturday, 8th, ill; sups at Piero's; fever; sleeplessness. Sunday, 9th, sups at Piero's. Monday, 10th, ill. Tuesday, 11th, ill. Wednesday, 12th, ill. Thursday, 13th (Corpus Christi), lunches at Bronzino's; fasts in the evening. Friday, 14th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 15th, sups at Piero's; San Lorenzo. Sunday, 16th, lunches at Bronzino's and sups with him also. Monday, 17th, sups at home; food. Wednesday, 19th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 20th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 21st, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 22d (Jacopo mistakes the day of the month), San Lorenzo; food. Tuesday, 25th, San Lorenzo; scaffolding. Wednesday, 26th, San Lorenzo; holes made in the walls there. Thursday, 27th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 29th (St. Peter). Sunday, 30th, lunches at Daniello's; the weather; Bronzino; sups at Piero's.

Thursday, July 4, San Lorenzo; ill; Naldini; food. Friday, 5th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 6th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 7th, lunches at Bronzino's. Monday, 8th, letters; ill. Tuesday, 9th, San Lorenzo; ill. Wednesday, 10th, ill at home; food; Naldini unkind to him. Thursday, 11th, San Lorenzo; his health. Friday, 12th, sups at Piero's; his health. Saturday, 13th, sups at home; visit from Bronzino; San Lorenzo; his "fattore." Sunday, 14th, lunches at Bronzino's; quarrels with the "fattore"; sups at home; food. Tuesday, 16th, San Lorenzo; food; quarrels with Naldini. Wednesday, 17th, food. Thursday, 18th, his health; sups at San Lorenzo; work. Friday, 19th, food. Saturday, 20th, Naldini; food. Sunday, 21st, sups at Bronzino's; Naldini goes to Legnaia. Monday, 22d, lunches at Daniello's; sups at Bronzino's; ill; Naldini; works on a cartoon. Tuesday, 23d, fasts; San Lorenzo; ill. Wednesday, 24th, food. Thursday, 25th, lunches at Bronzino's; fasts in the evening. Friday, 26th, San Lorenzo; a cartoon. Tuesday, 30th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 31st, San Lorenzo.

Thursday, August 1, San Lorenzo; sups at Piero's. Friday, 2d, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 3d, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 4th, sups at Daniello's; Bronzino. Wednesday, 7th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 8th, San Lorenzo; food. Friday, 9th (Eve of St. Lawrence), work; fasts. Saturday, 10th, ill. Sunday, 11th, his garden; drawings shown him by Fuscellino; ill; sups at Bronzino's. Monday, 12th, ill; fever; food. Tuesday, 13th, food; San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 14th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 16th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 17th, San Lorenzo. Monday, 19th, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 20th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 21st, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 25th, lunches at Bronzino's; goes to Mass.

Monday, September 2d, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 3d, San Lorenzo; barrel of oil. Wednesday, 4th, San Lorenzo; the weather. Thursday, 5th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 6th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 7th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 8th (Birth of the Virgin), lunches at Bronzino's; has a toothache in the evening. Monday, 9th, ill. Tuesday, 10th, *idem;* stays at home and draws. Wednesday, 11th, *idem.* Thursday, 12th, *idem.* Friday, 13th, *idem.* Saturday, 14th, *idem.* Sunday, 15th, lunches at Bronzino's; fasts in the evening. Monday, 16th, makes drawings. Tuesday, 17th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 18th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 19th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 20th, the weather. Sunday, 21st (St. Matthew).

Sunday, October 6th (Pontormo mistakes the day of the month), Naldini goes to Poggio; food; toothache. Monday, 7th, his food; San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 8th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 9th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 12th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 13th, lunches at Bronzino's; food. Monday, 14th, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 15th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 16th, San Lorenzo; fasts in the evening. Thursday, 17th, his food. Friday, 18th (St. Luke), his food; San Lorenzo. Saturday, 19th, San Lorenzo; food. Sunday, 20th, lunches at Bronzino's; sups there too. Monday, 21st, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 22d, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 23d, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 24th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 25th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 26th, San Lorenzo; a cartoon; sups at home; food; toothache. Sunday, 27th, stays at home to draw; sups at home. Monday, 28th, stays at home to draw; sups alone.

Friday, November 1, lunches at Bronzino's; food. Saturday, 2d, the weather. Sunday, 3d, *idem.* Monday, 4th, *idem.* Tuesday, 5th, his health. Saturday, 9th, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 12th, San Lorenzo; fatigue. Friday, 15th, the weather. Saturday, 16th, a cartoon; San Lorenzo. Sunday, 17th, lunches at Bronzino's; sups at home; Naldini; the monks. Monday, 18th, he goes to see the monks. Tuesday, 19th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 20th, the washing. Sunday, 24th, lunches at Bronzino's; Maria's mother. Wednesday, 27th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 30th (St. Andrew), sups at Piero's.

Sunday, December 1, lunches at Bronzino's; sups with Daniello; food; Luca Martini. Friday, 6th (St. Nicholas), the weather. Sunday, 8th, sups at Bronzino's; food. Monday, 9th, food. Tuesday, 10th, sups at Daniello's; Martini; Varchi. Wednesday, 11th, food. Thursday, 12th, the "Divisione." Friday, 13th, sups at home; he begins to do his own housework; Naldini. Saturday, 14th, sups with Bronzino and Martini. Friday, 20th (fast day), the weather. Sunday, 22d, lunches with Bronzino. Tuesday, 24th, the death of Pagolo; lunches at Bronzino's; Martini; Daniello and his family. Wednesday, 25th, lunches and sups with Bronzino. Thursday, 26th, goes to San Francesco; lunches with Alessandra; Lucretia. Friday, 27th, goes with Bronzino to Monte Oliveto; Strozzi; fasts; sups at home. Saturday, 28th, goes to San Miniato; lunches at the tavern; fasts in the evening. Sunday, 29th, goes to San Domenico; fasts; goes to see Daniello. Monday, 30th, stays at home. Tuesday, 31st, *idem.*

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Wednesday, January 1, lunches at Bronzino's; sups at home with Ottaviano. Thursday, 2d, sups at home; food; Naldini. Friday, 3d, sups with

Bronzino; food. Saturday, 4th, the weather; buys a cloak; Naldini; business. Sunday, 5th, lunches at Bronzino's. Monday, 6th (Epiphany), he takes a walk; sups with Daniello. Thursday, 9th, sups with the Prior of the Innocents; food. Friday, 10th, an accident; Naldini. Saturday, 11th, two "scudi" to Naldini. Sunday, 12th, the weather; he eats at home; food. Tuesday, 14th, goes to the "bottega." Wednesday, 15th, the weather; a visit from Bronzino and Ottaviano. Thursday, 16th, sups with the porter; food. Friday, 17th (St. Anthony), food. Saturday, 18th, food. Sunday, 19th, sups with Piero; food; at San Piero; in the evening a visit from Bronzino and Ottaviano. Monday, 20th (San Sebastiano), the weather; food. Tuesday, 21st, the weather; food. Wednesday, 22d, food. Thursday, 23d, food; Naldini. Friday, 24th, food. Saturday, 25th, food; Naldini. Sunday, 26th, spends the day at Bronzino's with Ottaviano, Daniello, Alessandra, and others. Monday, 27th, sups at home; food. Tuesday, 28th, sups at Bronzino's. Wednesday, 29th, food. Thursday, 30th, food; Naldini. Friday, 31st, food.

Saturday, February 1, food. Sunday, 2d, lunches at Bronzino's; sups at Daniello's. Monday, 3d, cooks for himself. Tuesday, 4th, food. Wednesday, 5th, food. Thursday, 6th, San Lorenzo; food. Friday, 7th, food. Saturday, 8th, food; charcoal; the porter; San Lorenzo. Sunday, 16th, lunches at Bronzino's; sups at home with Bronzino and Ottaviano. Monday, 17th, food; Naldini. Tuesday, 18th, food. Wednesday, 19th, food; Naldini. Thursday, 20th, sups at Bronzino's; San Lorenzo. Friday, 21st, food. Saturday, 22d, food; Naldini. Sunday, 23d, lunches and sups at Bronzino's; passes the evening there; Varchi. Monday, 24th, sups with Daniello; goes to a comedy in Via Maggio. Tuesday, 25th, the weather; sups at home. Thursday, 27th, San Lorenzo; food. Friday, 28th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 29th, San Lorenzo.

Tuesday, March 3, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 4th, San Lorenzo; he takes cold. Thursday, 5th, ill. Friday, 6th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 7th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 8th, he goes to see a Hercules. Monday, 9th, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 10th, he goes to see a picture of St. Bartholomew by Bronzino. Wednesday, 11th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 12th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 13th, San Lorenzo; has four "lire" from rent. Saturday, 14th, he goes to see a head of Sandrino's; sups with Piero. Sunday, 15th, a visit from Bronzino to whom he does not open the door; another from Daniello to whom he does not open. Wednesday, 18th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 19th, lunches at Daniello's with Ottaviano; meets Bronzino who is just sending a picture to Pisa.[1] Sunday, 22d, visit from Daniello and Ottaviano; quarrels with Bronzino. Monday, 23d, sups with Daniello; food; Bronzino, Sandrino, Giulio, Alessandra. Tuesday, 24th, buys a "fiasco" of wine. Wednesday, 25th, the moon. Thursday, 26th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 27th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 28th, San Lorenzo; feast[2] of the "Tregua"; sups at home. Sunday, 29th (Palm Sunday), lunches with Bronzino. Monday, 30th, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 31st, stays at home.

Wednesday, April 1, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 2d (Holy Thursday). Friday, 3d, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 9th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 10th, San Lorenzo;

[1] "Christ and Saints" for the Cathedral of Pisa. For the documents, see Centofanti, *Not. di art. tratto dai doc. pis.*, Pisa, 1898; also Supino, *Arch. stor. dell' arte*, VI, 448.

[2] The famous truce between the Emperor and the King of France published in Siena, March, 27, 1556.

sups at Piero's. Saturday, 11th, San Lorenzo; food; sups at Piero's. Sunday, 12th, receives a "berlingozo" from Mona Ugenia; sups with Bronzino. Monday, 13th, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 14th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 15th, San Lorenzo; scaffolding; Pier Francesco. Thursday, 16th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 17th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 18th, San Lorenzo. Monday, 20th, San Lorenzo.

Sunday, May 3 (Holy Cross), lunches at Bronzino's. Monday, 4th, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 5th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 6th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 7th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 8th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 9th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 10th, lunches and sups with Bronzino; they go out for a walk. Tuesday, 12th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 13th (Eve of Ascension), San Lorenzo. Thursday, 14th, lunches and sups with Bronzino. Friday, 15th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 16th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 17th, lunches at Bronzino's; fasts in the evening; his health. Monday, 18th, the weather. Thursday, 28th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 29th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 30th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 31st, fasts; sups with Piero; food.

Monday, June 1, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 7th, lunches and sups with Bronzino; ill. Tuesday, 9th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 12th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 13th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 14th, sups with Piero. Friday, 19th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 20th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 21st, meets Bronzino at Santa Maria del Fiore; goes to see a bull; lunches with Bronzino; wine from Piero; Alessandra; his health; fasts. Tuesday, 23d, his food; kills one of his chickens. Wednesday, 24th, sups with Daniello; Marignolle; Bronzino. Thursday, 25th, San Lorenzo; the weather. Friday, 26th, San Lorenzo; the holes in the walls of the choir. Saturday, 27th, San Lorenzo; fasts in the evening. Sunday, 28th, lunches with Bronzino; they go to Prato Ognissanti and there meet Sandrino and Bernardo. Monday, 29th, prepares paints. Tuesday, 30th, prepares paints.

Saturday, July 4, fasts in the evening; makes a drawing. Sunday, 5th, lunches at Bronzino's, whom he met at Santa Maria; Lorenzo Pucci; Ottaviano; sups with Bronzino; wine from Piero. Tuesday, 14th, San Lorenzo. Thursday, 16th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 18th, food. Sunday, 19th, lunches with Bronzino; sups with Piero. Monday, 20th, San Lorenzo; hurts himself; receives a "mogio" of grain; washes his feet. Tuesday, 21st, fasts; San Lorenzo; Naldini. Wednesday, 22d, fasts; San Lorenzo; sups with Daniello. Thursday, 23d, San Lorenzo. Friday, 24th, San Lorenzo. Saturday, 25th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 26th, lunches with Piero; food; fasts in the evening. Monday, 27th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 29th, San Lorenzo. Friday, 31st, sups with Piero; Naldini quits Lappoli.

Wednesday, August 26th, sups with Bronzino, Ottaviano and Daniello. Thursday, 27th, sups with Bronzino; prepares a cartoon. From the end of July to the 20th of August he mentions in an indefinite way that he worked on one figure at San Lorenzo.

Thursday, September 10, Mona Adia makes bread. Friday, 11th, he bottles three barrels of wine; sups with Piero. Saturday, 12th, San Lorenzo. Sunday, 13th, sups with Daniello; Bronzino; food. Monday, 14th, San Lorenzo. Wednesday, 16th (fast day), San Lorenzo. Friday, 18th, San Lorenzo; fasts in the evening. Saturday, 19th, San Lorenzo; food. Monday,

21st (St. Matthew), food. Tuesday, 22d, takes a holiday. Wednesday, 23d, San Lorenzo; food. Saturday, 26th, evening at the tavern; Ottaviano; Bronzino; food. Sunday, 27th, lunches with Bronzino; sups with Bronzino and Ottaviano. Monday, 28th, stays at home. Tuesday, 29th (St. Michael), lunches and sups with Bronzino; Martini. Wednesday, 30th, stays at home.

Thursday, October 1, sups at Bronzino's; Varchi; Martini. Friday, 2d, Martini goes to Pisa. Saturday, 3d, the weather; lunches with Bronzino; a "fiasco" of colour. Sunday, 4th, goes to San Francesco for the day; food. Monday, 5th, San Lorenzo. Tuesday, 6th, San Lorenzo; food; ill. Sunday, 11th, goes to Certosa; sups at Piovano with Daniello and Giulio; food; small expenses. Friday, 16th, he begins to feel the cold; sups with friends at the tavern. Sunday, 18th, lunches with Piero; food; sups with Bronzino; food.

Topical Analysis of Pontormo's Diary

The days on which Pontormo mentions working at San Lorenzo.

1554 March 21, 22; June 9.

1555 January 30, 31; February 1, 16, 28; March 4, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28; April 3, 5, 9, 13, 18, 19, 20, 27; May 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27, 30, 31; June 1, 5, 6, 7, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27; July 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 23, 26, 30, 31; August 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21; September 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 17, 18, 19; October 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26; November 9, 12, 19, 27.

1556 February 6, 8, 20, 27, 28, 29; March 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 18, 26, 27, 28, 30; April 1, 3, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20; May 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 28, 29, 30; June 1, 9, 12, 13, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27; July 14, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29; August 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25; September 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 23; October 5, 6.

The days on which Pontormo mentions that he was ill.

1554 January 7 to February 6; March 11, 15, 27; April 1; May 24; October 19; December 19.

1555 January 31; February 2; March 3, 28; April 1, 19; May 11, 26; June 8, 10, 11, 12, 13; July 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 18, 22, 23; August 10, 11, 12; September 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; October 6, 26; November 5.

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14 Idem
15 Idem
26 National Gallery, London (Lady Ravensdale Loan)
27 Idem
30 Idem
96 Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome
128 Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano-Castagnola
131 Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York
150 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



FIG. 1 "The Hospital of San Matteo"
Academy, Florence



FIG. 2 Madonna and Saints
Chapel of San Luca, SS. Annunziata, Florence



FIG. 3 Study for the San Luca Madonna and Saints
Print Room, Dresden



FIG. 4 Study for the San Luca Madonna and Saints
Uffizi 6676 verso, Florence



FIG. 5 The Visitation
SS. Annunziata, Florence



FIG. 6 Study for the Visitation in SS. Annunziata, Florence
Uffizi 6603, Florence



FIG. 7 Study for the Visitation in SS. Annunziata, Florence
Uffizi 6542, Florence



FIG. 8 Study for the Baptist of the Carro della Zecca
Uffizi 6581 verso, Florence



FIG. 9 Study for a Lost Pietà
Uffizi 6690 verso, Florence



FIG. 10 Portrait of an Engraver of Precious Stones
Louvre, Paris



FIG. 11 Study for the Lost Santa Cecilia of the Oratory of Santa Cecilia in Fiesole
*Corsini, Rome**



FIG. 12 Sketch for the Lost Santa Cecilia of the Oratory of Santa Cecilia in Fiesole
Uffizi 6694, Florence



FIG. 13 Madonna and Saints
San Michele Visdomini, Florence



FIG. 14 Sketch for the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini
*Corsini, Rome**



FIG. 15 Sketch for the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini
*Corsini, Rome**



FIG. 16 Sketches for the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini
Uffizi 6551, Florence



FIG. 17 Sketch for the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini
Uffizi 6551 verso, Florence



FIG. 18 Sketch for the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini
Uffizi 6545, Florence



FIG. 19 Sketch for the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini
Uffizi 6744 verso, Florence



FIG. 20 Study for the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini
Uffizi 654, Florence



FIG. 21 Study for the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini
Uffizi 6662, Florence



FIG. 22 Study for the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini
Uffizi 6581, Florence

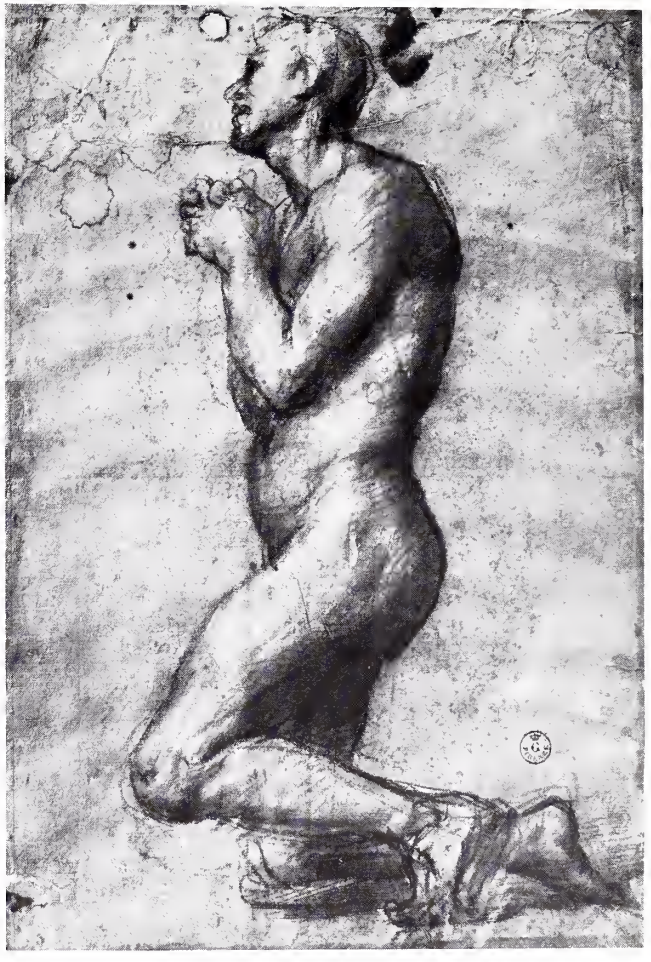


FIG. 23 Study for the Madonna and Saints of San Michele Visdomini
Uffizi 6744, Florence



FIG. 24 Study for a Lost Madonna and Child
Uffizi 6729, Florence



FIG. 25 Study for the Joseph Discovering Himself to His Brethren
Uffizi 6692, Florence



FIG. 26 Joseph Discovering Himself to His Brethren
*Formerly Collection of Lady Desborough, Panshanger**



FIG. 27 The Baker Led Out to Execution
*Formerly Collection of Lady Desborough, Panshanger**



FIG. 28 Study for the Joseph Discovering Himself to His Brethren
Uffizi 6542 verso, Florence



FIG. 29 Study for the Baker Led Out to Execution
Uffizi 6690, Florence



FIG. 30 Joseph Sold to Potiphar
*Formerly Collection of Lady Desborough, Panshanger**



FIG. 31 Study for the Joseph Sold to Potiphar
Uffizi 6556, Florence



FIG. 32 Study for the Joseph Sold to Potiphar
Uffizi 6692 verso, Florence



FIG. 33 The Adoration of the Magi
Palazzo Pitti, Florence



FIG. 34 Study for the Adoration of the Magi
Uffizi 6722, Florence



FIG. 35 St. John the Evangelist
San Michele in Pontormo



FIG. 36 St. Michael
San Michele in Pontormo



FIG. 37 Study for St. John the Evangelist and for the Hands of St. Michael of San Michele in Pontormo
Uffizi 6571, Florence



FIG. 38 Study for a Portrait of a Youth
Uffizi 452, Florence



FIG. 39 Study for a Lost Pietà
Uffizi 300 F, Florence



FIG. 40 Study for St. Michael of San Michele in Pontormo
Uffizi 6506, Florence



FIG. 41 Portrait of a Youth
Palazzo Bianco, Genoa



FIG. 42 Portrait of Cosimo il Vecchio
Uffizi, Florence

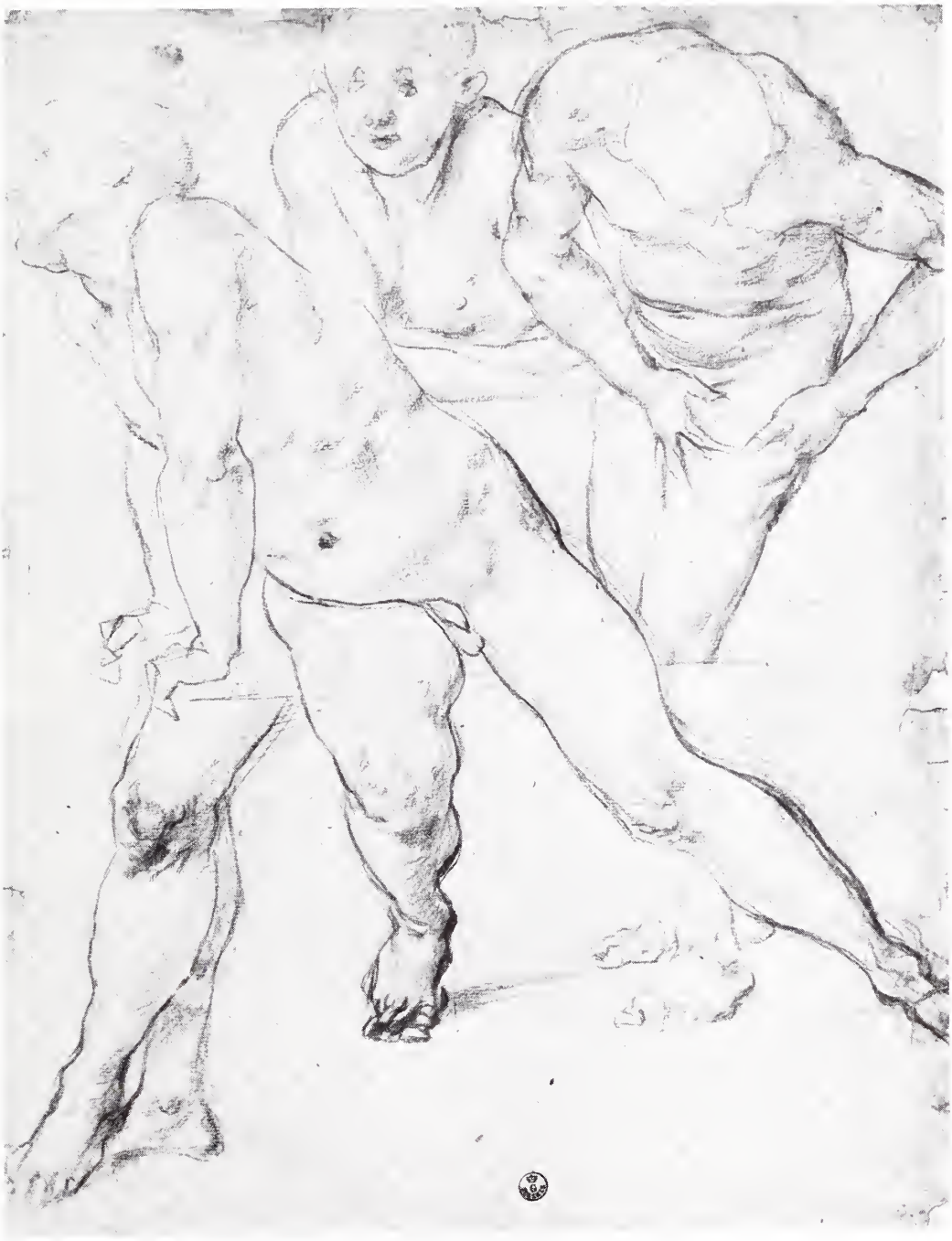


FIG. 43 Study of Three Nudes
Uffizi 672, Florence



FIG. 44 Study of Three Nudes
Uffizi 442, Florence



FIG. 45 Study of a Man
Uffizi 6571 verso, Florence



FIG. 46 Study of a Nude
Uffizi 6504, Florence



FIG. 47 Three Sketches of a Nude
Uffizi 6516 verso, Florence



FIG. 48 Portrait of a Boy
Trivulzio Collection, Milan



FIG. 49 Study of a Youth
Uffizi 6682, Florence



FIG. 50 Pomona and Vertumnus
Lunette in the Medicean Villa at Poggio a Cajano



FIG. 51 Right Half of the Lunette in the Medicean Villa
Poggio a Cajano

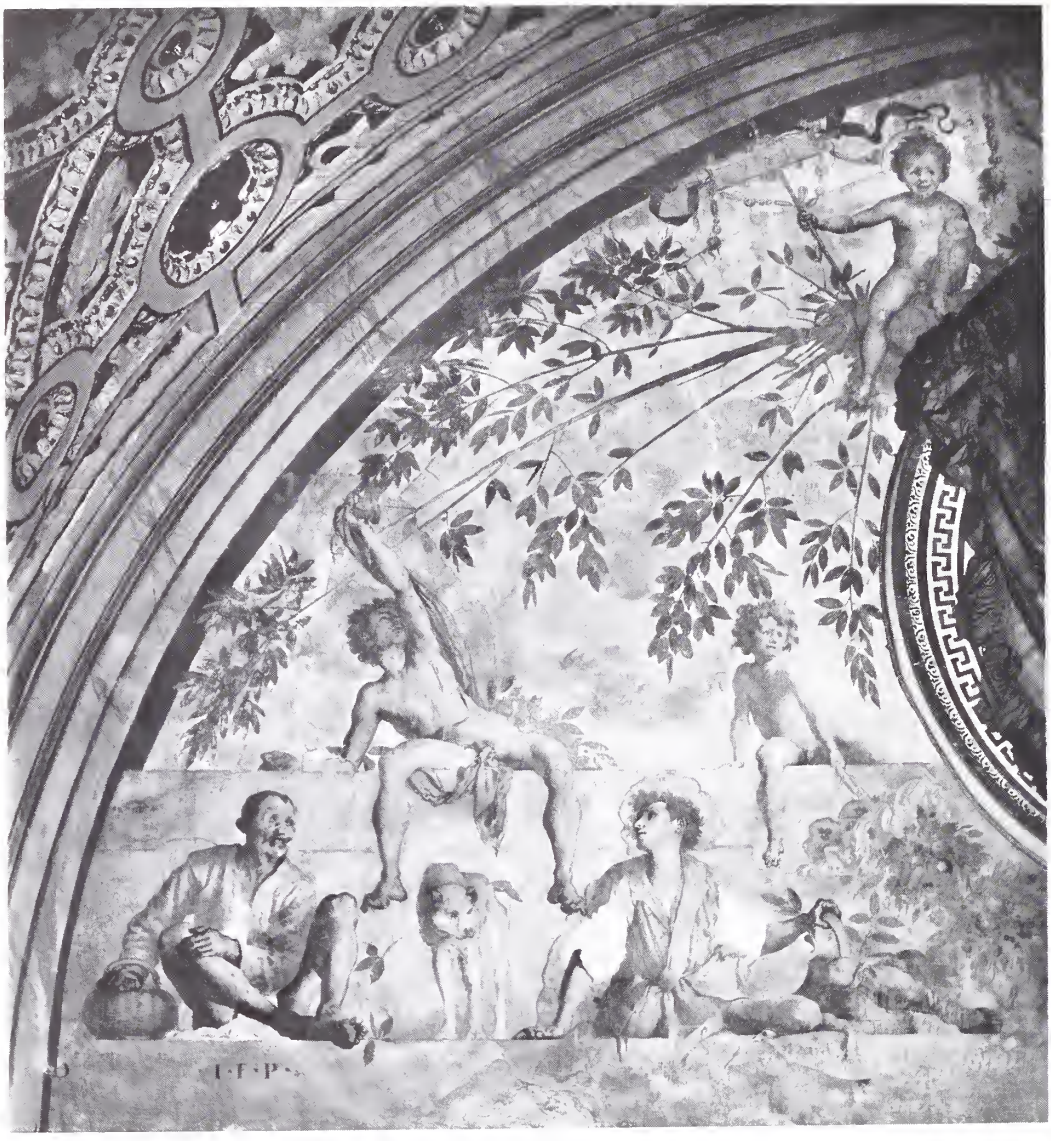


FIG. 52 Left Half of the Lunette in the Medicean Villa
Poggio a Cajano



FIG. 53 Sketches for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6660 verso, Florence



FIG. 54 Sketches for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6557, Florence



FIG. 55 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6673. Florence



FIG. 56 Sketch for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6514. Florence



FIG. 57 Sketch for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6516 verso, Florence



FIG. 58 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6673 verso, Florence



FIG. 59 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6544. Florence



FIG. 60 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6555. Florence



FIG. 61 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6731, Florence



FIG. 62 Sketch for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6662 verso, Florence



FIG. 63 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6531, Florence



FIG. 64 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6547, Florence



FIG. 65 Sketch for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6646, Florence



FIG. 66 Sketch for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6661, Florence



FIG. 67 Studies for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6669 recto, Florence



FIG. 68 Studies for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6669 verso, Florence



FIG. 69 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6651, Florence



FIG. 70 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6559, Florence



FIG. 71 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6685 recto, Florence

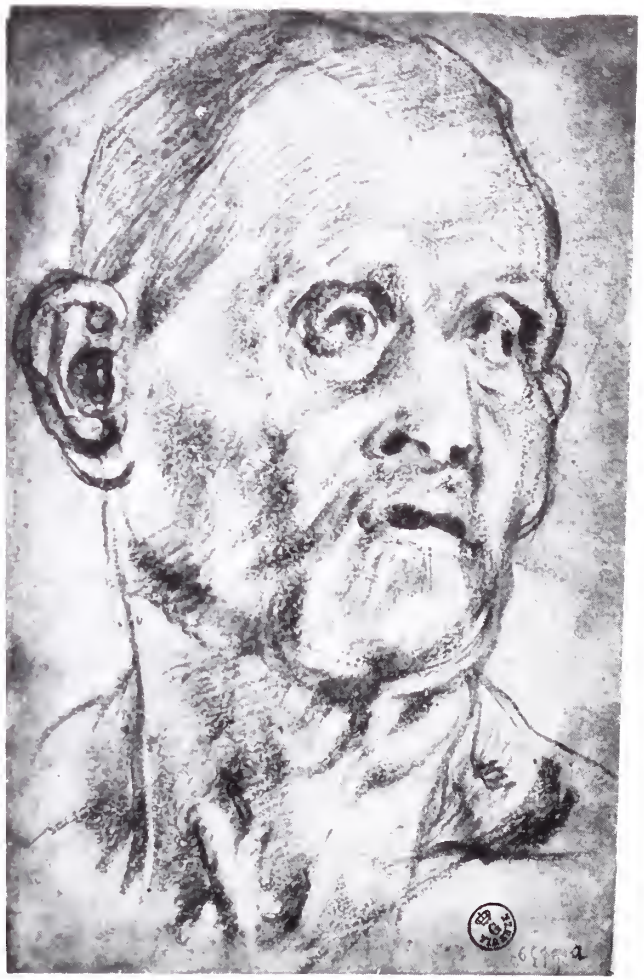


FIG. 72 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 6579, Florence

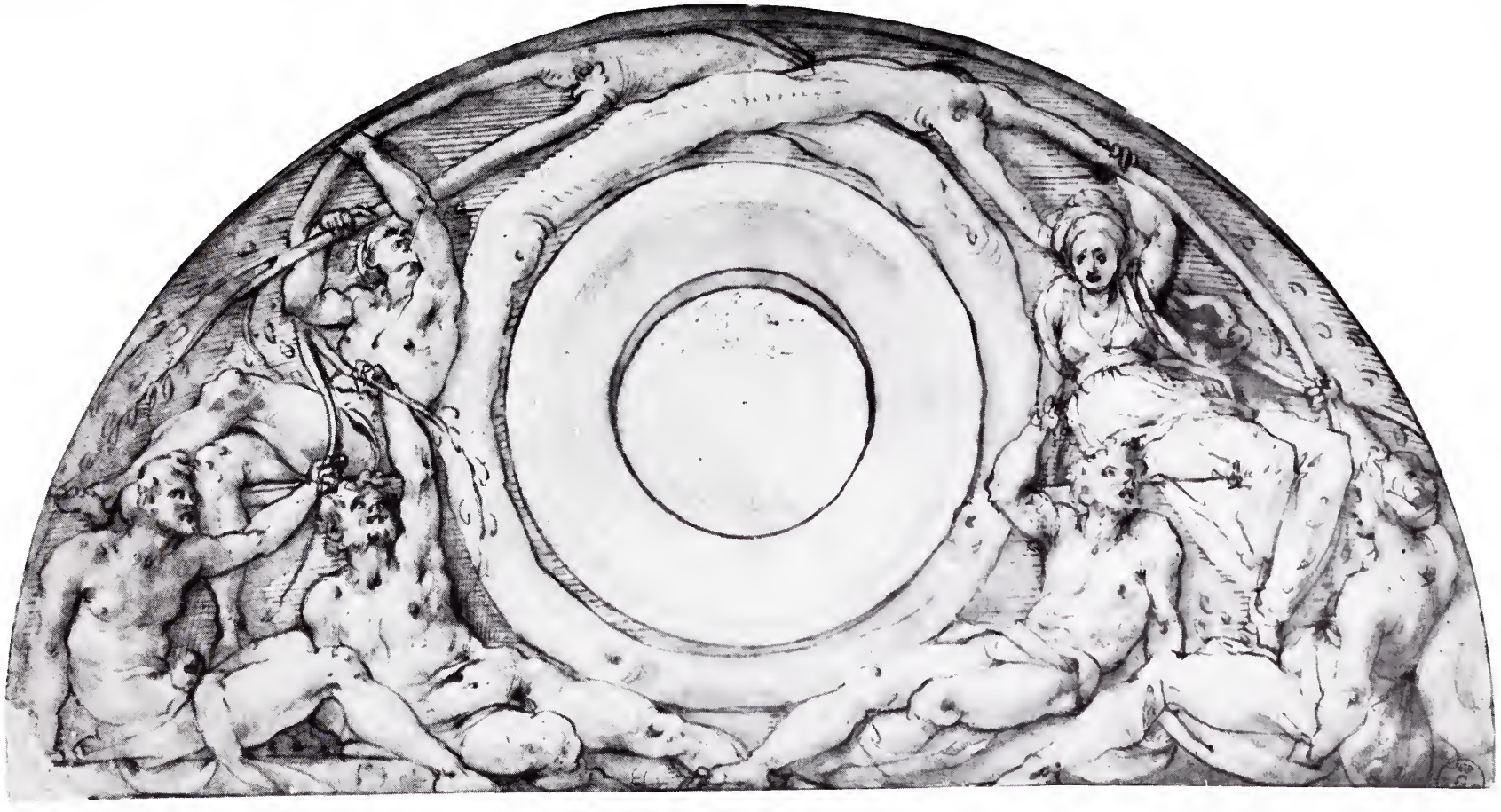


FIG. 73 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 454, Florence



FIG. 74 Study for the Lunette at Poggio a Cajano
Uffizi 455, Florence



FIG. 75 Study of a Nude
Uffizi 6727 recto, Florence



FIG. 76 Study for a Young Baptist in the Wilderness
Uffizi 6597, Florence



FIG. 77 Study of Three Nudes
Staedel Institute, Frankfort



FIG. 78 Study of Three Nudes
Uffizi 6677 verso, Florence



FIG. 79 Christ before Pilate
Cloister of the Certosa, near Florence



FIG. 80 The Way to Golgotha
Cloister of the Certosa, near Florence



FIG. 81 The Risen Christ
Cloister of the Certosa, near Florence



FIG. 82 The Supper at Emmaus
Academy, Florence



FIG. 83 Sketch for a Projected Descent from the Cross in the Cloister of the Certosa, near Florence
Uffizi 6622, Florence



FIG. 84 Study for the Supper at Emmaus
Uffizi 6656 verso, Florence

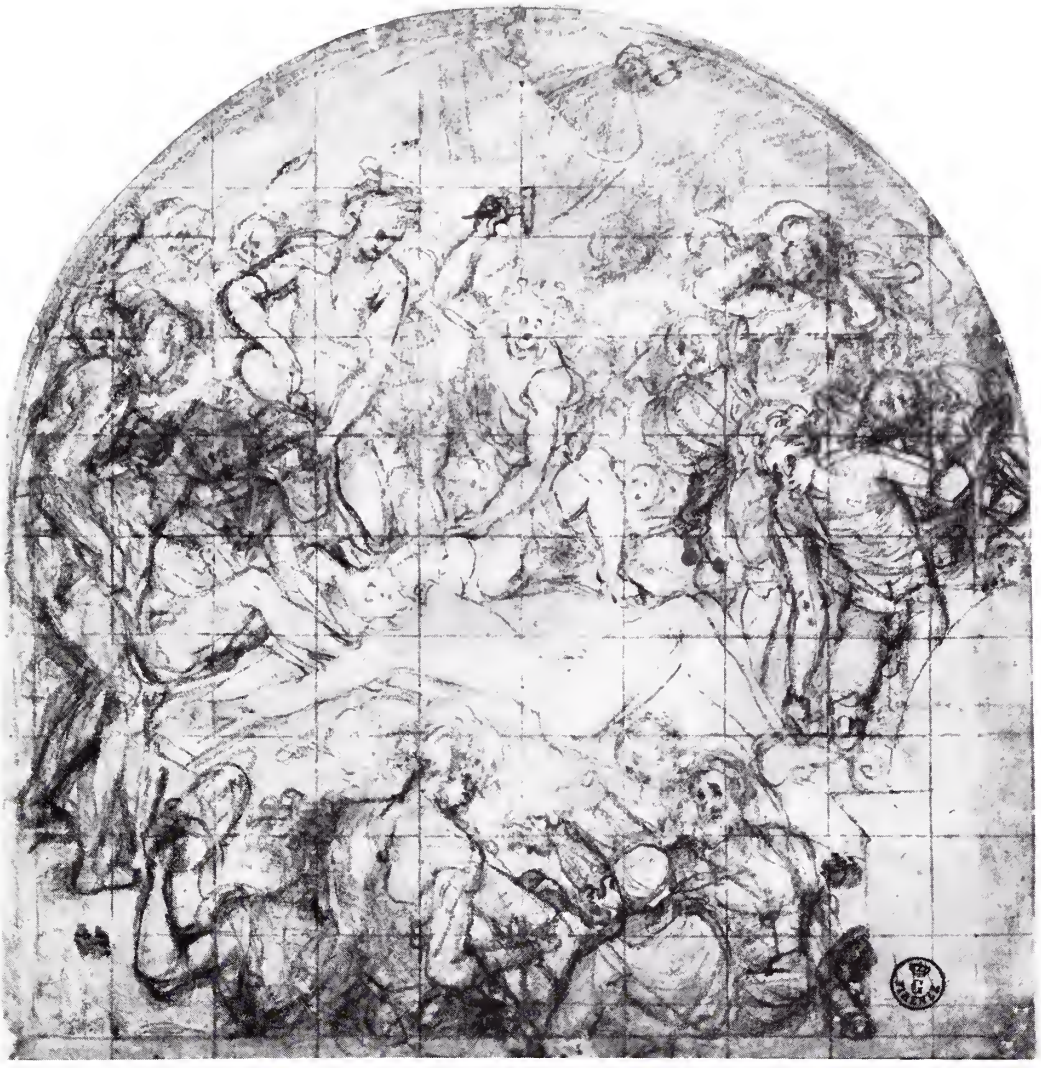


FIG. 85 Sketch for a Projected Nailing to the Cross in the Cloister of the Certosa, near Florence
Uffizi 6671, Florence



FIG. 86 Study for a Projected Nailing to the Cross in the Cloister of the Certosa, near Florence
Uffizi 6665, Florence



FIG. 87 Study for the Angel of the Annunciation in the Capponi Chapel of Santa Felicita, Florence
Uffizi 6653. Florence



FIG. 88 Study for the Virgin of the Annunciation in the Capponi Chapel of Santa Felicita, Florence
Uffizi 448, Florence



FIG. 89 Study for a Projected Nailing to the Cross in the Cloister of the Certosa, near Florence
Uffizi 447, Florence

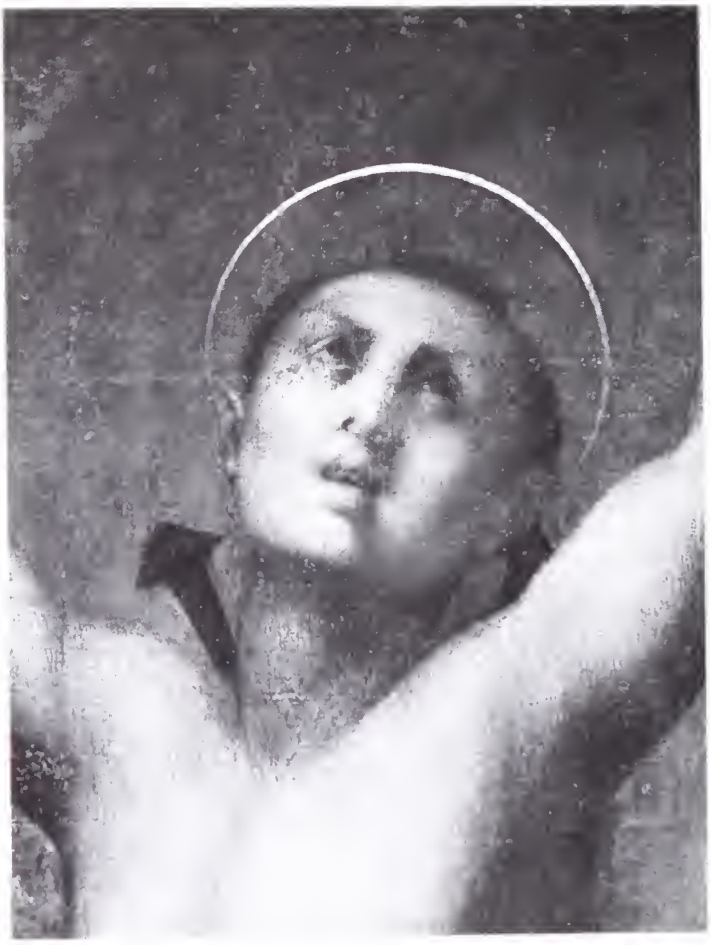


FIG. 90 Detail of the St. Quentin in Borgo San Sepolcro



FIG. 91 Sketch for the Head of the St. Quentin in Borgo San Sepolcro
Uffizi 6647 verso, Florence



FIG. 92 The Deposition
Capponi Chapel, Santa Felicita, Florence



FIG. 93 Study for the Deposition of the Capponi Chapel
Uffizi 6666, Florence



FIG. 94 Study for the Deposition of the Capponi Chapel
Uffizi 6627, Florence



FIG. 95 Study for the Deposition of the Capponi Chapel
Uffizi 6577, Florence



FIG. 96 Sketches for the Deposition of the Capponi Chapel
*Corsini, Rome**



FIG. 97 Studies for the Deposition of the Capponi Chapel
Uffizi 6730, Florence



FIG. 98 Sketches for the Deposition of the Capponi Chapel
Uffizi 6613 verso, Florence

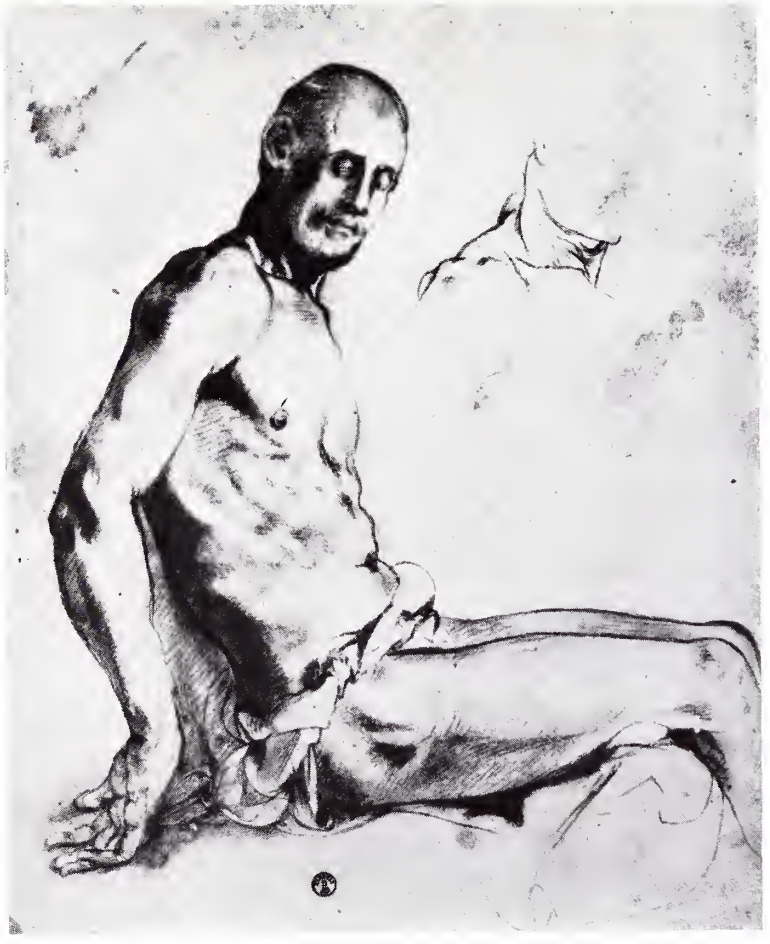


FIG. 99 Study for the Deposition of the Capponi Chapel
Uffizi 6619, Florence



FIG. 100 Study for the Deposition of the Capponi Chapel
Uffizi 6576 recto, Florence



FIG. 101 Study for a Portrait of a Young Girl
Uffizi 449, Florence



FIG. 102 Studies for a Portrait of a Boy
Uffizi 6667, Florence



FIG. 103 The Madonna, Child and Little St. John
Palazzo Corsini, Florence



FIG. 104 The Madonna, St. Anne and Four Saints
Louvre, Paris



FIG. 105 Study for the Madonna, St. Anne and Four Saints, in the Louvre
Uffizi 460, Florence



FIG. 196. The Martyrdom of St. Maurice
Palazzo Pitti, Florence



FIG. 107 The Martyrdom of St. Maurice
Uffizi 1187, Florence



FIG. 108 Study for a Variant of the Martyrdom of St. Maurice
Kunsthalle, Hamburg



FIG. 109 Study for a St. Jerome
Uffizi 441, Florence



FIG. 110 Study of a Nude Woman
Uffizi 441 verso, Florence



FIG. 111 The Visitation in the Parish Church of Carmignano



FIG. 112 Study for the Visitation in the Parish Church of Carmignano
Uffizi 461, Florence



FIG. 113 Study of a Nude
Uffizi 6723, Florence



FIG. 114 Birth-plate: The Birth of St. John the Baptist
Uffizi 1198, Florence



FIG. 115 Portrait of a Youth
Pinacoteca, Lucca



FIG. 116 Portrait of a Youth
Morelli Collection, Bergamo



FIG. 117 Anatomical Study
Uffizi 6718, Florence



FIG. 118 Portrait of a Man
Uffizi 1220, Florence



FIG. 119 Lucretia
Borghese Gallery, Rome



FIG. 120 Study for a Portrait of a Soldier
Uffizi 463F, Florence



FIG. 121 Study of a Nude
Uffizi 6561, Florence



FIG. 122 Study for the Three Graces
Uffizi 6748, Florence

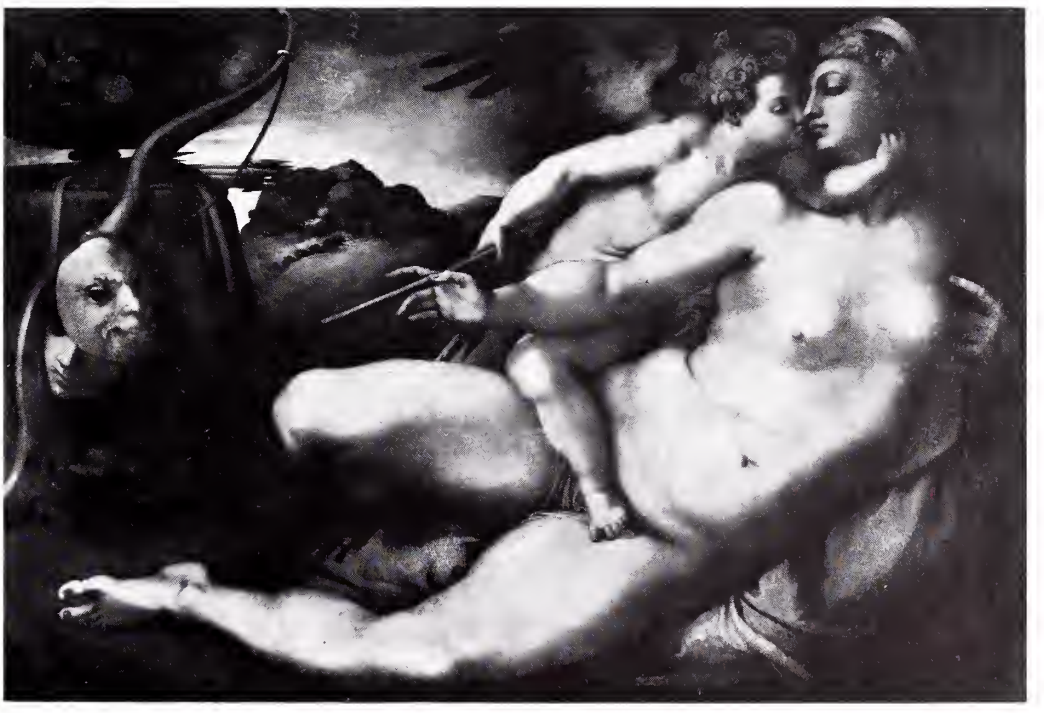


FIG. 123 Venus and Cupid
Uffizi 1248, Florence



FIG. 124 Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici
Johnson Collection, Philadelphia



FIG. 125 Portrait of a Man
Palazzo Pitti, Florence

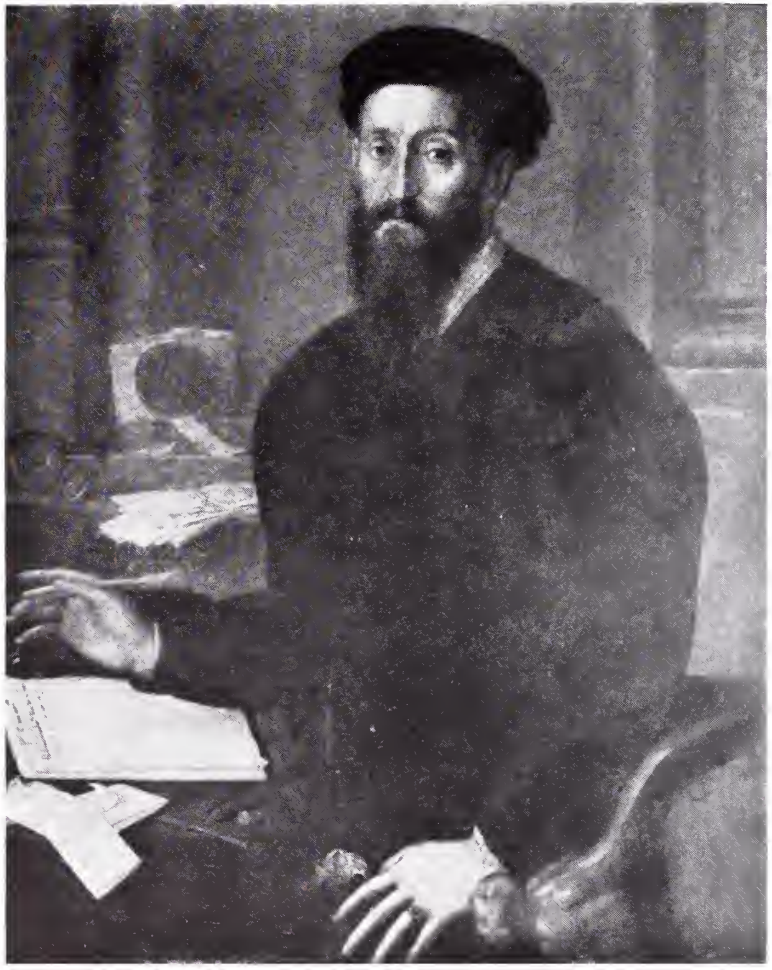


FIG. 126 Portrait of Bartolomeo Compagni
Formerly Stirling Collection, Keir, Dunblane, Scotland



FIG. 127 Portrait of a Young Woman
Staedel Institute, Frankfort



FIG. 128 Portrait of a Young Woman
*Formerly Von Dirksen Collection, Berlin**



FIG. 129 Portrait of a Woman in Green
Formerly Augusteum, Oldenburg



FIG. 130 Portrait of the Cardinal Spannocchi Cervini
Borghese Gallery, Rome



FIG. 131 Portrait of a Lady with a Volume of Verse
*Formerly Yerkes Collection**



FIG. 132 Probable Study for One of the Lost Allegorical Figures in the Loggia of the Medicean Villa at Castello
Uffizi 6584, Florence



FIG. 133 Probable Study for One of the Lost Allegorical Figures in the Loggia of the Medicean Villa at Castello
Uffizi 6586, Florence



FIG. 134 Benjamin at the Court of Pharaoh. Tapestry Woven after a Design by Pontormo
Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome



FIG. 136. Joseph and Potiphar's Wife. Tapestry Woven after a Design by Pontormo
Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome

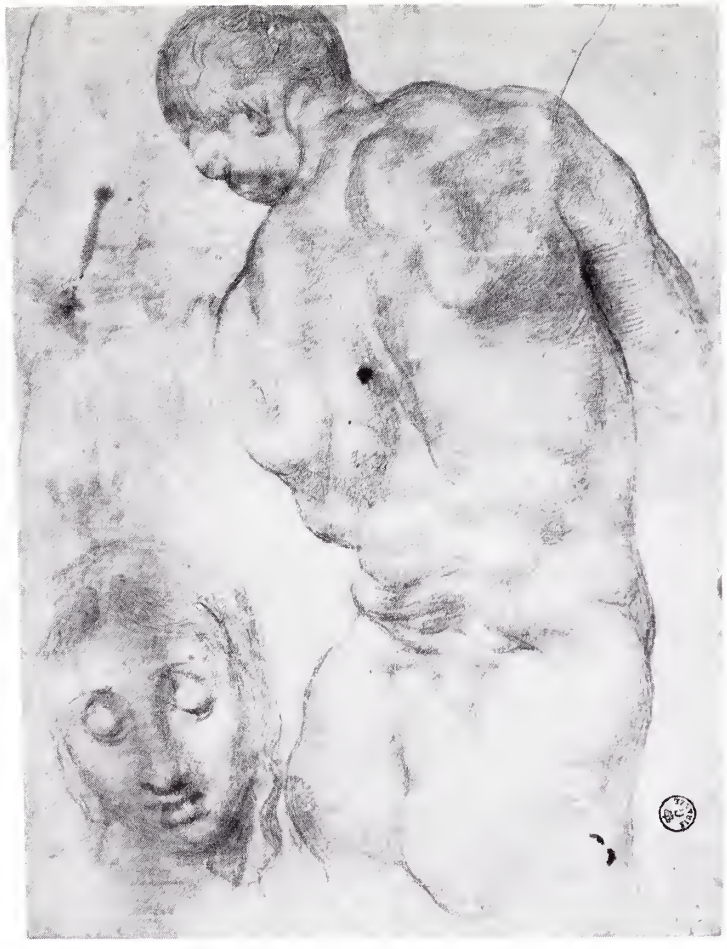


FIG. 135 Studies for the Tapestry of Benjamin at the Court of Pharaoh
Uffizi 6593, Florence

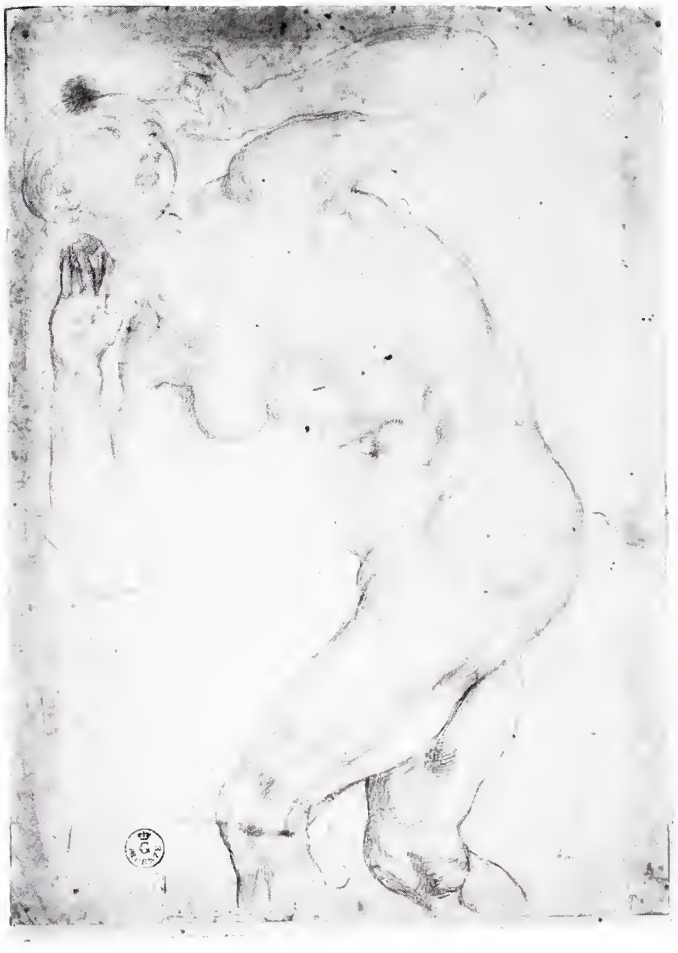


FIG. 137 Study for the Lost Expulsion from Paradise in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6715, Florence



FIG. 138 Study for the Lost Christ in Glory in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6609, Florence

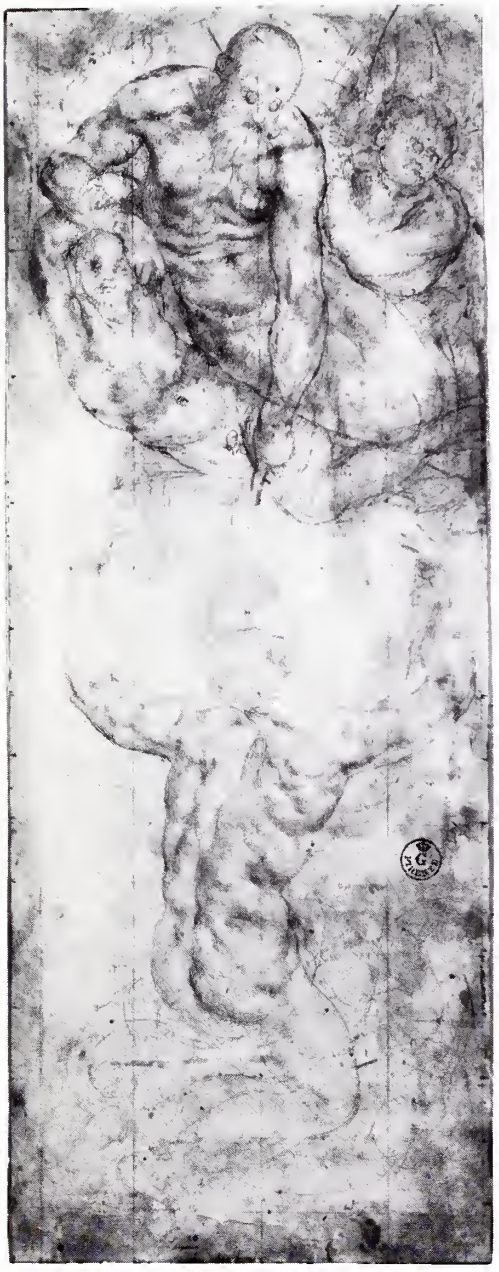


FIG. 139 Study for the Lost Moses Receiving the Law in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6749, Florence

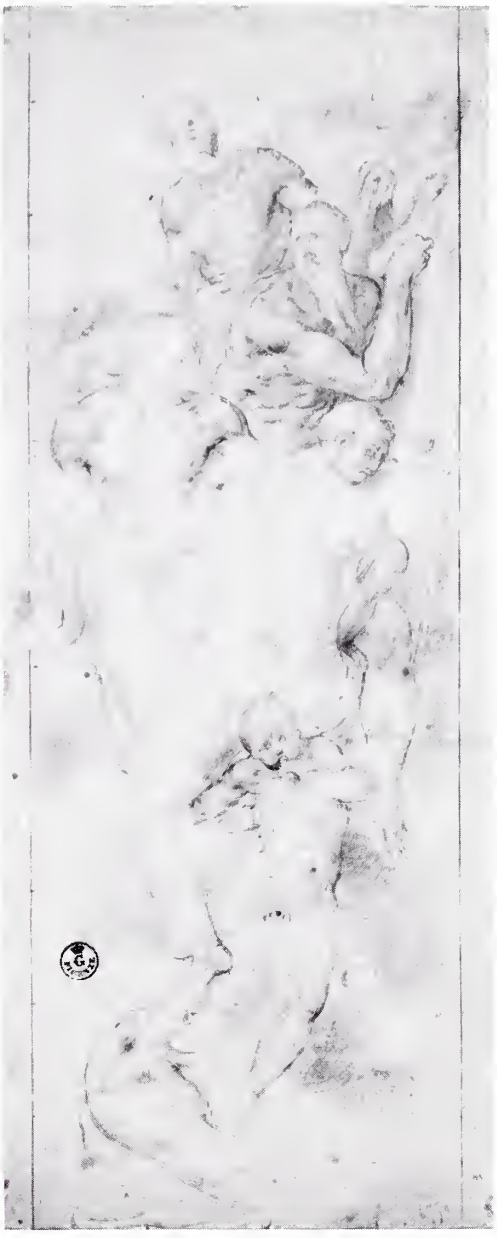


FIG. 140 Study for the Lost Four Evangelists in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6750, Florence



FIG. 141 Study for the Lost Sacrifice of Cain and Death of Abel in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6739, Florence



FIG. 142 Study for the Lost Death of Abel in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6746, Florence

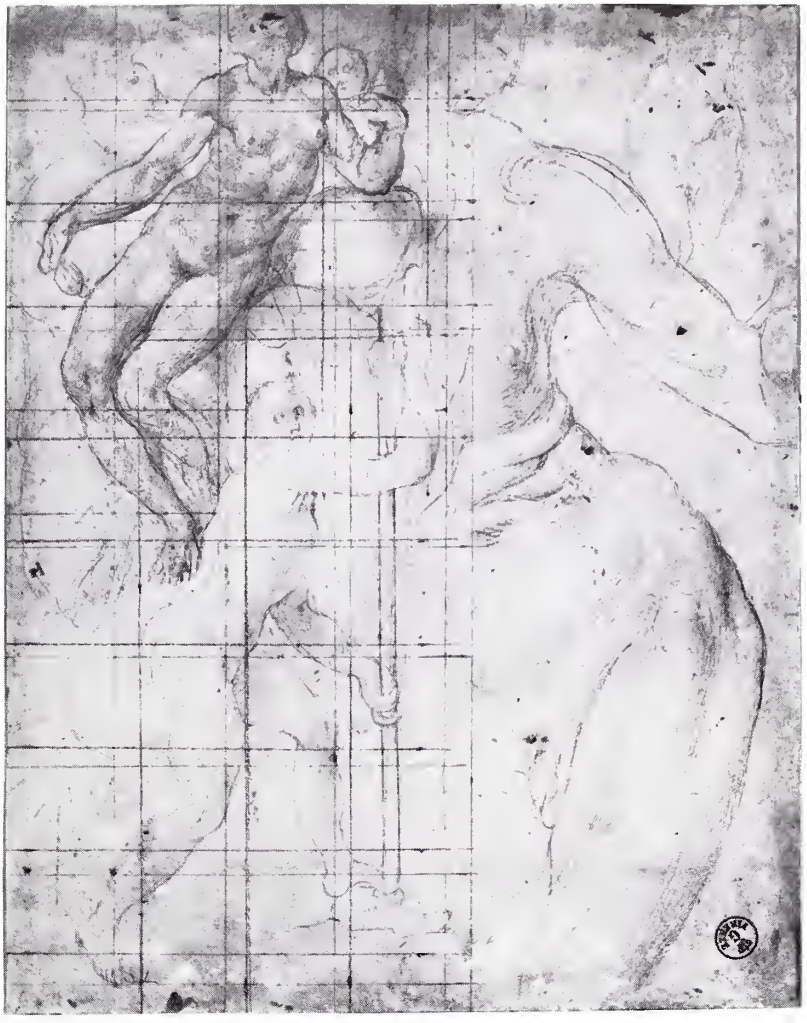


FIG. 143 Study for the Lost Tilling of the Soil in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6535, Florence

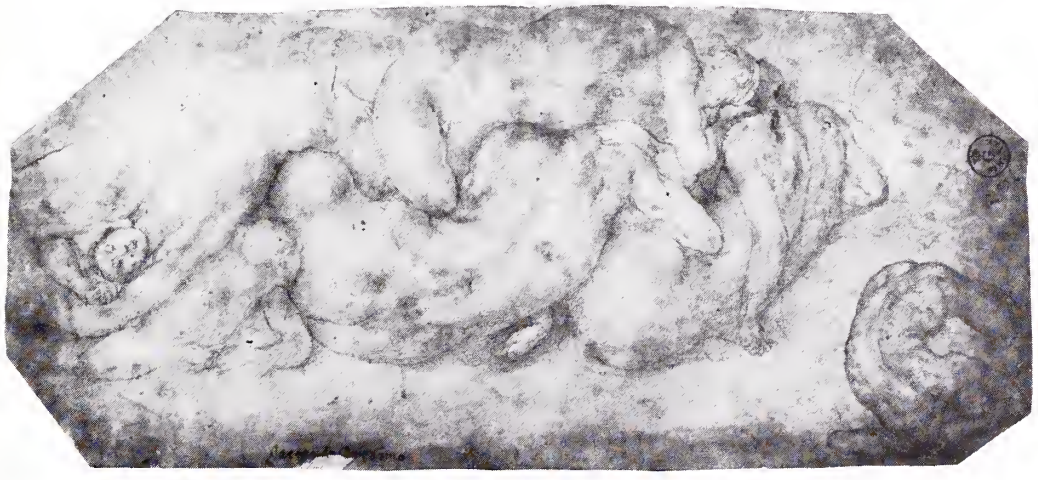


FIG. 144 Study for the Lost Deluge in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6753, Florence



FIG. 145 Study for the Lost Deluge in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6752, Florence

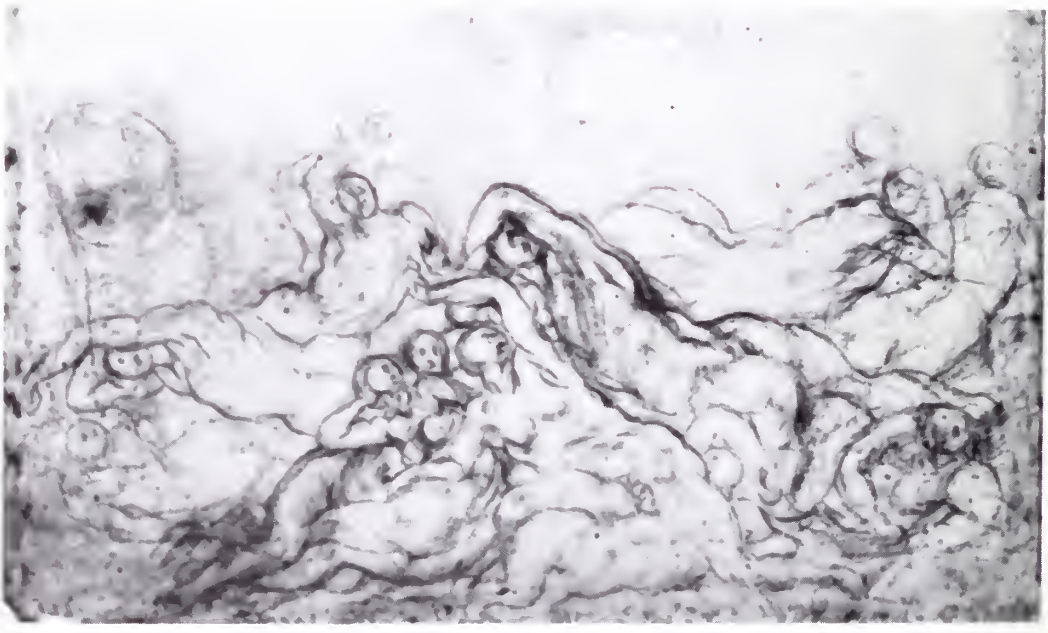


FIG. 146 Study for the Lost Deluge in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6528, Florence



FIG. 147 Study for the Lost Ascent into Heaven in San Lorenzo, Florence
Academy, Venice



FIG. 148 Study for a Figure in One of the Lost Frescoes in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6560, Florence



FIG. 149 Study for a Figure in One of the Lost Frescoes in San Lorenzo, Florence
Uffizi 6679, Florence



FIG. 150 Portrait of an Old Lady
*Formerly Belvedere, Vienna**



FIG. 151 Portrait of a Lady
Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris

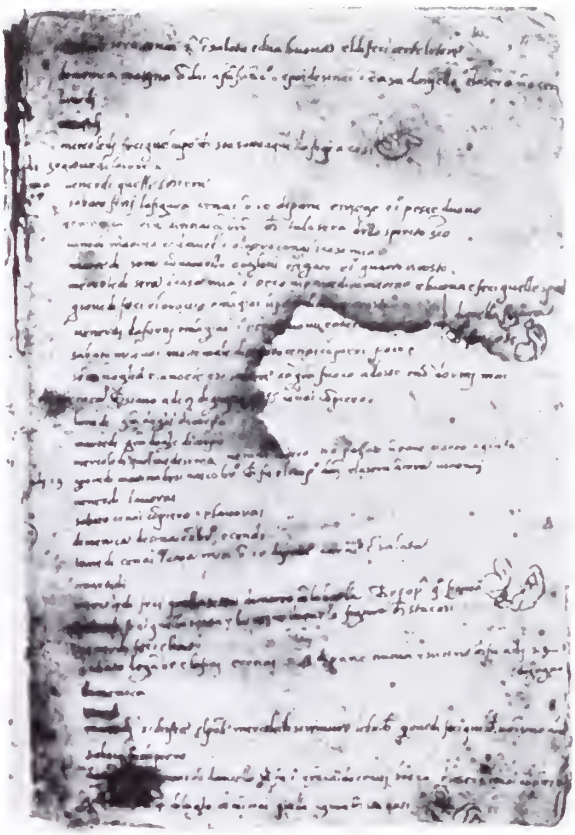


FIG. 152 Page 4 of Pontormo's Diary
Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence

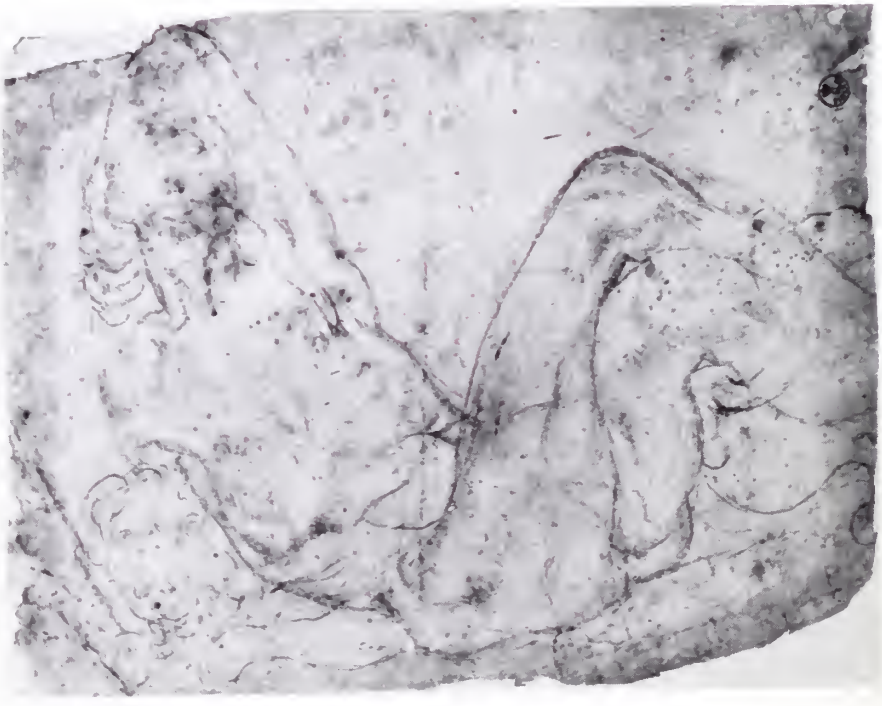


FIG. 153 Study for the Figure in the Lost Frescoes of San Lorenzo Mentioned in the Last Line of Page 4 of Pontormo's Diary
Uffizi 6760, Florence

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